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The Shape of Things

HITLER IS PLAGUED BY JACKAL TROUBLE. Just at the moment when he is calling on the Axis puppets for large new contingents of cannon fodder for his spring campaign, two of his allies have started snarling viciously between themselves. Hungary and Rumania both seem much more anxious to fight each other than to continue battle against the Russians. The bone of contention is Transylvania, the division of which, as dictated by Hitler in the Vienna agreement, left both claimants unsatisfied. In a recent speech Michael Antonescu, brother of the Rumanian Premier and acting Foreign Minister, declared: "During the past year we have been victims of grave offenses and provocations. . . . Northern Transylvania, cradle of our country, was submitted to a regime of oppression and humiliations." Replying to this speech, Count Bela Teleki, spokesman for Transylvania in the Hungarian Parliament, asserted: "We must take action to insure that the shameful conditions [in southern or Rumanian Transylvania], under which Hungarian nationals are robbed of all their possessions and are oppressed, end immediately." The exchange of accusations and insults is now being taken up by the press of both countries, and there are reports of concentrations of Rumanian and Hungarian troops along the Transylvanian frontier. Most significant of all is a story from Berne to the effect that Premier Antonescu is negotiating with Dr. Juliu Maniu, leader of the Rumanian peasants and a stout anti-Nazi whose popularity is such that the Nazis have not dared to touch him. Maniu is said to demand as a basis for cooperation the withdrawal of Rumania from the Axis pact. This may be a bigger price than Antonescu can afford to pay, but he is said to have agreed that no more Rumanian troops shall be sent to Russia unless Hungary makes equal sacrifices.

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IT IS CLEAR FROM MOSCOW DISPATCHES that German resistance has stiffened all along the vast Russian front. Soviet troops still seem to be making some progress in most areas, but none of the chief German strong points have fallen. Some are surrounded and others under severe attack, but so far the German defensive strategy appears to have worked successfully. In

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the past few days both the tempo of the Soviet attack and the strength of German resistance have been intensified. For the first time in months we read reports of the extensive use of Nazi planes. Eighty-eight were reported destroyed this last week-end—seventeen brought down by Soviet-flown British Hurricanes at the approaches to Moscow. Particularly encouraging is the announced arrival behind the Soviet lines of a number of American Airacobra planes, said to be superior to the latest German Messerschmitts. The Russians are also reported to have a considerable number of sixty-ton and ninety-ton tanks in reserve for the expected Nazi spring offensive. Talk of an early break between Japan and the Soviet Union has been checked, temporarily at least, by a one-year renewal of the Soviet-Japanese fisheries agreement that expired last December. It is fairly clear that the Soviet Union will not initiate war with Japan until Great Britain and the United States have opened up a second front in Europe. Recent speeches by Litvinov point clearly in this direction. What Japan will do remains anyone's guess.

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EVIDENCE PRESENTED AT THE RIOM TRIAL continues to reveal appalling inefficiency in the war leadership of the French generals, many of whom are today in positions of high responsibility in the Vichy regime. All the witnesses testifying before the court have stressed the failure of the French air fleet to render assistance to its troops in the desperate days of May, 1940. Yet Daladier has pointed out that France still had 4,200 planes, including 1,600 first-line craft in the unoccupied zone in June of that year. He said that 750 anti-aircraft guns, or enough for fourteen divisions, fell into German hands at the French supply depots. In view of the revelations, it is little wonder that Fernand de Brinon, Vichy envoy to the German authorities in Paris, is reported to have suggested that the Riom trial be dropped "as detrimental to the interests of [Vichy] France." Some observers have declared that the trials indicate that Vichy is not as supine in its relationship to Germany as is commonly supposed. There is, however, little other evidence to support this view. French policy continues to come as close to outright collaboration with the Reich as is possible without actual entry into the war. The Riom trials prove, however, that the French courts are resisting Nazi dictation just as the German courts did in the first years of Hitler's regime.

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THE APPOINTMENT OF RICHARD G. CASEY AS a member of the British War Cabinet and its representative in the Middle East has had the unexpected result of calling attention to the dissatisfaction felt by Australia because it is not allowed to share in the formation of war policies. Prime Minister Churchill apparently thought that the appointment of Casey would ease the strain which had arisen between London and Canberra. But it happened that Prime Minister Curtin of Australia preferred to have Casey retain his post as Minister to the United States, and was indignant when Churchill overrode his desires in the matter. The real reason for Curtin's wish to keep Casey in Washington came out a day or so later when Herbert Evatt, the Australian Minister of External Affairs, arrived in Washington with a proposal that the War Council which determines Pacific strategy should sit in Washington and that Australia and New Zealand should have full representation on it. It was, of course, the Australian government's intention to have Casey represent it on this council. At present Australia has a member on the Southwestern Pacific Council, which sits in London, but basic military decisions are made in Washington by a body which contains no delegate from the British dominions. The problem of working out effective representation for the smaller partners in the war effort of the United Nations, while maintaining efficient centralization of control, is a difficult one. But surely no country has a better claim to recognition than the dominion which is now carrying the heaviest part of the struggle against Japan.

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A WARNING AGAINST ANTI-LABOR HYSTERIA has been issued in an unexpected quarter. The *Wall Street Journal* of March 23 enters a plea against hasty and vindictive legislation designed to overthrow present federal labor policy. This is news of the man-bites-dog variety. Of course, the major organ of big business has not experienced a Pauline conversion. It is as much against the National Labor Relations Act and the wage-and-hour law as ever, but unlike the Scripps-Howard press, it has some conception of the ultimate implications of Representative Howard Smith's bill. Repeal of the forty-hour law, it realizes, would not necessarily lengthen the working week. But it would mean a cut in pay encouraging and legitimatizing a demand for higher hourly rates. That could prove awkward after the war. It realizes, too, though it does not say so directly, that abrogation by law of union contracts limiting hours would provide a precedent for legislative abrogation of contracts between corporations and the government. And, indeed, if overtime pay is ruled out by Congress, it will be essential to revise every defense contract which in fixing prices took into account the payment of overtime rates. The *Wall Street Journal* fears that coercion of labor of the kind advocated by Representative Smith and others may prove a "totalitarian beginning" which will lead to other and less desirable totalitarian ends. "If we put a ceiling on wages," it points out, "we will put it on profits. If we demand that a worker shall take part of his pay in defense bonds, why should not also a Congressman or an editor?" We don't indorse all the arguments

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in this inverted special pleading against a crack-down on labor, but they seem worth the attention of the prairie firebugs discussed by Mr. Stone on a later page.

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IT IS NOT A SHORTAGE OF OIL BUT A shortage of transport which has made necessary the War Production Board's order to reduce deliveries of gasoline by 20 per cent to dealers in Eastern Atlantic and Northwest Pacific states. The U-boats have been successful in picking off a number of tankers; others have had to be diverted from their regular routes to supply United Nations forces in distant parts of the world. Australia, for instance, which formerly depended on the Netherlands Indies for its oil supplies, must now draw on this country or Iran, and in both cases long and hazardous voyages are necessary. The result is that those parts of the United States which have hitherto depended on tankers for oil must curtail non-essential gasoline consumption or risk a shortage of heating and industrial fuels. Secretary Ickes, the Petroleum Coordinator, has declared that dealer rationing is only a preliminary step and that consumer rationing cards will follow as soon as a system can be organized. This proposed measure has been attacked by the gasoline dealers and the Automobile Association, but it seems to us the only reasonably fair method of distributing the reduced supply. The dealers fear it will encourage "price chiseling" by dealers scrambling to collect coupons and thus swell their total volume. On the other hand, we expect that the method of restricting consumption by rationing dealers, while admissable as a stopgap, is going to cause headaches to dealers and their customers alike. The former must give preference to various classes of consumers, such as physicians and truckers, and will then have to decide how to allot what remains among other consumers. The system is certain to encourage the payment of premiums and evasion of price ceilings.

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THE U-BOAT CAMPAIGN OFF THE ATLANTIC coast appears to be gaining headway despite the increasing vigilance of our patrol forces. Losses have not been large in relation to the total number of ships which daily ply the sea lanes along our coast, but they are large enough to cause concern. Fortunately, there are reasons to believe that conditions will improve. The navy has announced that the number of patrol vessels will be substantially increased within a few weeks. Great Britain has sent planes to Cuba to join in the submarine hunt. Furthermore, it has been found that losses can be kept down by restricting shipping to specified northbound and southbound coastal lanes during the daylight hours, and requesting all vessels to put into port at night. This plan has been tried with satisfactory results, and if it is put into full operation, losses should be cut to a minimum.

EARL BROWDER HAS BEEN IN PRISON FOR a year now, and this week the Communists are holding a demonstration in New York to urge his release. It has been *The Nation's* position since Browder's conviction a year and a half ago that while the government's case against the Communist leader was legitimate, the penalty was unjust. He was given a $2,000 fine and four years in federal penitentiary for failing to inform the authorities that a passport he had used during the Spanish war was not his first. No evidence was introduced to show that the offense had serious consequences, nor was there any precedent for imposing so heavy a sentence. The truth is that Browder's case was brought to trial at a time when Communist opposition to the war and the American defense program had aroused strong public resentment, and the severity of the sentence was a measure of the party's unpopularity. Earl Browder is in Atlanta Penitentiary because he is a Communist; all precedents would indicate that if he had not been a Communist he would have received either a reprimand or at most a small fine. This fact alone is sufficient argument for his release.

The Guthrie Case

IT MAY be no coincidence that the "prairie fire" against labor and the forty-hour week which I. F. Stone examines on page 358 flared up just at the moment when the resignation from the War Production Board of Robert R. Guthrie, a conservative business man, called attention to the extent to which some of the dollar-a-year men were still holding up the all-out conversion of industry for war purposes. The lag in output of many kinds of war material is a fact, but there is little evidence to show that it is due to strikes—which have almost ceased since Pearl Harbor—or to the forty-hour week. On the other hand there is plenty of evidence of corporations putting profits before defense, of industries clinging tenaciously to inventories needed for war production, of the reluctance of private business to give up the manufacture of civilian luxuries and to make use of substitute materials.

This is the situation which has been dramatically exposed by Mr. Guthrie's resignation. It is also the situation from which the propagandists of the National Association of Manufacturers are strenuously endeavoring to distract attention by grabbing the headlines for the "little man's" revolt against union labor.

The rules for the employment of dollar-a-year men include a provision that no person shall be employed in any position in which he will make decisions directly affecting the affairs of his own company. But if the testimony of Mr. Guthrie and other WPB executives is to be believed, this rule is honored in the letter rather than in the spirit. We are told, for instance, that Philip D. Reed,

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chairman of the board of General Electric, who is chief of the Bureau of Industry Branches, opposed Mr. Guthrie's proposals for ending the production of radios, of which General Electric is one of the major manufacturers. Another dollar-a-year man, Kenneth Marriner—formerly connected with a wool-manufacturing firm—was said to be instrumental in blocking proposals for blending wool with other materials so as to stretch the limited supplies available for civilian use.

It is to the credit of Production Chief Donald Nelson that he should have asked for an investigation of the Guthrie case by the Truman committee, one of the few Congressional committees which can be trusted to go into the story thoroughly, letting dollar-a-year chips fall where they may. Unfortunately, Mr. Guthrie was subpoenaed by the Faddis subcommittee of the House Military Affairs Committee before the Truman committee could hear him, and the Faddis subcommittee is one of the most reactionary of the Congressional bodies investigating the arms program. Charles I. Faddis of Pennsylvania, chairman of the subcommittee, is a Democrat, but he is as bitterly opposed to the New Deal as any of the most benighted bourbons from the poll-tax states. J. P. Thomas of New Jersey, one of the leading lights of the Dies committee, is the ranking member of the Faddis subcommittee. The general counsel for the committee, H. Ralph Burton, was counsel to Father Coughlin and the National Union for Social Justice in the 1936 Presidential campaign. So far the subcommittee has turned in three reports—one whitewashing the Aluminum Company of America, the second praising the dollar-a-year men, and the third smearing the Rural Electrification Administration in Arkansas.

It is to be hoped that the Truman committee will soon rescue Guthrie from the Faddis subcommittee and give him the full hearing he deserves. It is important to labor and to the Administration that his case be fully aired, for it will show where the real faults of our arms effort lie and what steps must be taken to correct them.

A Pacific Offensive?

A WAVE of optimism has swept over the United Nations as a result of General MacArthur's assumption of supreme command in the Pacific. In part it may be attributed to the drama of his journey from the Philippines to Australia in the face of supposed Japanese mastery of the sea and air. Psychologically, the people of the United Nations needed just such a remarkable exploit to relieve the pessimism engendered by the seemingly never-ending series of Japanese successes. But fundamentally the optimism is based on a general recognition of MacArthur's abilities. Certainly no other military leader has yet appeared in the United Nations who possesses MacArthur's combination of experience in military leadership, knowledge of the Pacific area, and fighting qualities.

Considerable credit must be given to President Roosevelt for the decision to move MacArthur to his present post. It will be recalled that many of the anti-Administration newspapers had been urging that he be brought home to take charge of America's defenses. There had even been hints that the President was afraid to "save" MacArthur lest the General run against him in the 1944 elections. If anything had happened to MacArthur in his hazardous journey to Australia, we can be sure that these papers would have placed the responsibility directly upon Mr. Roosevelt. Yet the President took the risk because, as he himself pointed out, winning the war must come before all other considerations.

The first reaction in many circles to MacArthur's shift has been the assumption that the United Nations would now take the offensive against the Japanese. MacArthur himself seemed to confirm this assumption when he declared that he was sent "for the purpose . . . of organizing an American offensive against Japan." It would be unfortunate, however, if the public concluded from this statement that a large-scale offensive against the Japanese would be launched within the next few days or weeks. For the moment MacArthur is bound to have his hands much too full defending Australia to initiate any sweeping counterblows. During the coming weeks there may be periods when it will be nip and tuck whether Australia can be held. But if anyone can hold it, Douglas MacArthur is the man. His record in the Philippines shows that he can not only fight a skilful defensive battle against great odds but attack with vigor when the opportunity presents itself. We can be sure that in the midst of essentially defensive action, he will be planning the counterblows to be delivered as soon as his forces are adequate for the task.

More than that, we see increasing indications that American strategy in the Pacific is being shaped in the direction of a more vigorous use of such resources as we have for carrying the war to the enemy. This is evident in the powerful air attacks delivered last week against Japanese convoys off New Guinea. It is perhaps even more evident in the appointment of Lieutenant General Stilwell to direct Chinese and American forces operating in Burma, and concurrently as chief of staff of the Chinese armies in China itself. For it should be obvious that the most telling blows that can be delivered against Japan at present will not be in Australia, where American and Australian forces may soon be battling against odds, but in Burma, Thailand, and China, where action can be launched against Japan's lengthening lines of communication and even against the Japanese islands themselves. An offensive from Australia can be achieved only with naval as well as air superiority. For the mo-

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ment the disaster in the Java Sea has left the United Nations without even an adequate defense force in the South Pacific—although there are reports that this situation may soon be rectified. In Burma, Thailand, and China what is required for successful offensive action is land and air superiority. On land the Chinese alone have troops which, if properly equipped, could drive the Japanese into the sea; India could provide unlimited man-power. British and American pilots have so far maintained superiority in the air. Given supplies—and they appear to be arriving despite the loss of the Rangoon end of the Burma road—and cooperation from India, a real offensive can be launched in this area. Unfortunately, India's vast resources are tied up pending political action by Britain. Fully effective offensive action may depend more on Cripps's journey to India than on MacArthur's spectacular flight to Australia.

Curb the Fascist Press!

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE fascist press in the United States should be suppressed. It is a menace to freedom and an obstacle to winning the war. To protect it in the name of democracy is an evidence of timidity, not of self-confidence. A self-confident nation takes whatever steps are necessary to secure its existence; it does not allow its institutions to be used by its enemies as weapons for its own destruction.

Many good liberals who support the war believe that the fascist press in the United States is no menace. They think it can safely be ignored or its effect offset by pro-democratic counter-propaganda. They think suppression would be more dangerous than the thing suppressed. They say, The American people can be trusted to reject treasonable, anti-democratic arguments. They ask, How can you draw the line between treason and defeatism or ordinary isolationism? They argue that opinion as such should never be suppressed, that any limitation on the expression of opinion may lead to repression of all opposition to or criticism of the government.

This, roughly, is the position of our Attorney General. Mr. Biddle remembers the attacks on pacifists and "reds" and dissenters generally that disgraced the country during and after the First World War, and he is determined to prevent another epidemic of witch-hunting—legal and extra-legal. His attitude has undoubtedly spared us many nasty incidents, and we have good reason to be grateful for his democratic conscience; but I think his fears of indiscriminate repression have led him to underestimate both the dangers we face and the capacity of a liberal government—with a liberal Attorney General—to distinguish between enemies and traitors on the one hand and loyal critics on the other. Risks are inevitable in war time; a Biddle might be replaced by a Martin Dies. And even a Biddle can make mistakes. But in my opinion such risks are not so great or so immediate as the danger of an unchecked fascist press.

I use the word "fascist" deliberately. It is not a perfect word, and a semanticist would censor it immediately. But it covers better than any other the varieties of opinion I believe should be prohibited the use of the mails. The fascist press includes such out-and-out pro-Axis papers as still exist; it includes also the publications of native fascists like Pelley and Deatherage and of Jew-baiters, Britain-haters, and foes of democracy like Coughlin. There are a lot of these in the country, and their considerable circulation is increased by millions of pamphlets and throw-aways preaching the same gospel. All of them should be suppressed.

It is not enough to watch them and wait till they propose some overt act such as rebellion among the armed troops or the assassination of the President. It is not safe to discount them as the mouthpieces of individual cranks and crackpot minorities. It is necessary to consider them, and the democratic safeguards behind which they carry on their work, in the context of the movement of which they are a part.

Fascism invariably uses cranks and dissatisfied minorities as its fifth column in all the countries it attacks. The treason press in the United States, small or large, is an integral part of the fascist offensive. These miserable sheets are enemy paraphernalia whether they are edited by sixth-generation Americans or first-generation Germans. This war is only incidentally a national war. Primarily it is a war against the whole future society for which these papers clamor. Their attacks on democratic methods, their filthy slanders of the President, their lies about Jews, as well as the open aid and comfort they offer to the Axis, combine to make them fit subjects for suppression. They should be exterminated exactly as if they were enemy machine-gun nests in the Bataan jungle. And in wiping them out we shall be forced to admit that "opinion" can no longer be considered a sacred prerogative of our enemies just because they happen to be fighting within our borders. Opinion is one of their most effective weapons, and to allow them to use it against us is reckless to the point of insanity.

It has been argued that the worst dangers of anti-democratic propaganda can be averted by a policy of forcing full publicity about its source. Morris Ernst, for example, believes that disclosure rather than repression is the best method of control. He would not drive Father Coughlin off the air or suppress *Social Justice* but would force him to disclose publicly the sources of his funds and the individuals or organizations for whom he speaks. Such compulsory disclosure, like the registration of agents of alien firms or governments, might serve as a check, but it would be a minor one at best. The limits on

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its usefulness are immediately apparent. Concealment of sources of funds is not difficult; it has been practiced consistently and successfully, and even the threat of federal action would not end it. Undoubtedly, if we had a law compelling exposure, some pro-fascist persons and groups, skulking behind false names, would be exposed and jailed; that would be useful, just as the imprisonment of Viereck is a good thing. But only the careless would be caught. And even when exposure is successfully enforced, the effect may be unimportant. Not every purveyor of fascist poison is paid by Hitler or the Mikado. Many are subsidized by the pennies of their own followers; Coughlin himself must get a large part of his support from sympathizers—isolationists, anti-British Irish, Christian Fronters. Even some wealthy, "respectable" citizens have openly backed pro-fascist enterprises. Publicity would weaken the fascist press but it would not kill it.

Nor can we depend upon the health of the democratic community to throw off the infection. The people of the United States are certainly behind the war and against fascism, foreign or domestic. But the ills of our social system offer the anti-democratic propagandist powerful ammunition to shove into his guns. Racial discrimination, poverty, insecurity are used by the enemy press to attack the morale of large numbers of people. The ills are real; their cure is not to be found in substituting tyranny for an imperfect democracy. But the alternatives are not set forth. Instead, the genuine grievances of the people are inflamed and their unity and fighting spirit undermined. It is foolish to pretend that Americans are immune to this sort of attack. We are neither wiser nor better fortified than were our brothers in countries that today are captive units in the fascist new order.

The best lesson we can take from their fate is the necessity of action while there still is time to act. Tolerance, democratic safeguards, trust in public enlightenment—these happy peace-time techniques have demonstrated their inadequacy. Two methods are open to us: suppression and a vigorous counter-attack. Both should be used. The organs of the party-line fascists are easy to identify and should be put out of business without delay. The fellow-travelers should be watched—and fought. McCormick and Hearst and Patterson are more dangerous than the out-and-out fascists both because they are not out-and-out fascists and because the circulation of their papers is enormous. Their defeatist arguments and misleading information must be met by an unceasing barrage of counter-propaganda; the recent speech by Archibald MacLeish was an excellent example of the way they should be handled. And the moment they skid across the thin line that divides their doctrine from open treason they should face the full blast of the law.

I don't deny that a policy of suppressing enemy propaganda involves difficult problems of differentiation and danger of such errors as the British government has stumbled into in its attack on the London *Daily Mirror*. But I believe those problems and dangers must be faced. The last ten years are strewed with the wreckage of democratic governments that refused to take strong measures until it was too late. The United States has a healthy instinct for self-preservation, and we have still a good chance to reject the technique of democratic suicide perfected in Europe.

All-Out Against Labor

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 22

ADMINISTRATION leaders have rarely been as worried as they are by the growing clamor against the forty-hour week. A batch of newspapers from the Southwest, where the campaign first appeared, makes it easier to understand the letters and telegrams flooding Congress with demands for anti-labor legislation. "The Little People," declares the Oklahoma City *Times* in a front-page editorial, "are tired of 40-hour-week war production and 168-hour-week fighting." The Memphis *Commercial Appeal* publishes a Letter from an Arkansas Father in which John C. Sheffield of Helena, Arkansas, asks, "Do our boys at the front get 'overtime' and 'double time' in the fox holes of the Philippines?"

But this is more than a campaign against the payment of overtime. In the appeals being made by the anti-labor press there is a flavor of civil war. "Customarily," the Tulsa *World* said editorially, "the wrath of the people in a war country is against the military enemy. Now the United States faces domestic foes, and wrath is being turned inwardly instead of outwardly." Where is the real enemy? Roger Babson's article of March 15 was given banner headlines: "End Forty-Hour Week or Be Hitler Slaves." Babson wrote, "Our most dangerous enemy for today is not Hitler. It is not Japan. It is our own refusal to give up selfish privileges for the duration of the war. From the evidence at hand I regret to say that labor seems to be one of the worst offenders." The *Daily Oklahoman* in the same issue with that article asked, "Are the people of this country fighting for the

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preservation of American liberty or merely to make the world safe for labor racketeers?" From Brownfield, Texas, five hundred County Terry citizens sent Senator Connally a telegram: "When we hear of strikes and factories running only five days a week it makes us so mad that we are ready to shoot, kill, or murder somebody, if we only knew whom to shoot."

H. V. Kaltenborn's anti-labor broadcasts have been one of the precipitants of this furor, and he is proud of his work. "Oklahoma," he said in his Sunday-night broadcast of March 15, "has touched a match to a prairie fire that will sweep the country." The "objective" Associated Press was as lyrical. Most of Oklahoma's delegation in Congress, according to an AP story, have been "stirred to action by a prairie fire of protest from the state's grass roots" and have taken a stand "for outlawing strikes and suspending the forty-hour week." The prairie fire is being tended solicitously. In Oklahoma City the Civitan Club opened an office "to furnish writing material and stenographers for men and women wishing to express to members of the Congressional delegation their attitude on the war-production effort." Newspapers printed anti-forty-hour-week petitions to be circulated by their readers. Even the school children were drafted. At the Jackson Junior High in Oklahoma City pupils gave up part of their lunch money to send telegrams, and at Roosevelt Junior High 1,300 pupils wrote letters to Congressmen.

It seems that it is not always easy to make people believe that labor and the forty-hour week are the villains. The Dallas Voiture of the 40 and 8, an American Legion unit, couldn't make up its mind whether capital or labor was to blame and compromised on a telegram to the President, Speaker Rayburn, and Senators Connally and O'Daniel which said, "We don't care what it takes to get the plants going twenty-four hours a day, but we want to get it done." Since it is widely known that most defenes plants are in fact working more than a forty-hour week, it was necessary to try to picture overtime pay as a form of sabotage. The Oklahoma City *Times* of March 12, while praising Nelson's "solid and courageous words Tuesday night," thought, "There is one point he might have made clearer. He inferentially criticized some employers because they did not operate overtime and pay extra. The fact is that most employers having contracts make bids which can be based only on straight time, to give the government the best possible price, and if they were to operate overtime they would soon have to go out of business. That wouldn't help defense, would it?"

The attempt from Washington to get the truth about the forty-hour week and strikes before the people made little impression. One paper called Knudsen and Admiral Land "F.D.R.'s yes men" for their testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee. Another, unable to dispute figures on how few strikes there were, said their testimony dealt only with "the immediate status of production" and "ignored extensive racketeering in the name of organized labor." In a front-page editorial called Let the Dead Speak, the Dallas *Morning News* declared, "It is a strange voice that comes from Washington-as-usual to rebuke the people for getting too much in earnest about an all-out war. . . . The blood and tears cannot be limited to forty hours a week." Typical of the way the facts were twisted is the resolution adopted by a meeting at Enid, Oklahoma: "With the head of the New Jersey C. I. O. announcing that a complete investigation shows the war-production plants of that state to be operating at only 50 per cent capacity, and with this same condition prevalent throughout the United States, a Congress bankrupt of public spirit is betraying this country and its armed forces by an abject surrender to conscienceless labor leaders, reinforced by a farm bloc under a threat by the C. I. O."

Few voices were allowed from the other side. On Thursday, March 12, at a "spontaneous" meeting in Oklahoma City announced several days in advance, with five-minute speakers and a brass band, Charles Schwoerke, a local labor attorney who expected to be inducted into the army the following week, managed to speak. "We can't afford to array class against class," Schwoerke said. "There hasn't been a defense strike in Oklahoma since the war period started. How can they say the forty-hour week is keeping industries from operating when there are 6,000 workers in this town today that want to do something for Uncle Sam and can't get a job?"

E. K. Gaylord and the Associated Industries of Oklahoma seem to be the chief local organizers of this anti-labor campaign. Gaylord is an Oklahoma City newspaper publisher who also owns a radio station and a paper mill. Most of the other papers in the state have cooperated enthusiastically. Oklahoma's press was overwhelmingly for Landon in 1936 and for Willkie in 1940; the state itself has been in the Roosevelt column since 1932. The remnants of the America First Committee are believed to have some role in the fight against the forty-hour week. I have been able to find only one link between them. Mack Schrodes, one of the signers of the call for the anti-forty-hour-week rally in Tulsa on March 18, was chairman of the Tulsa chapter of America First and last August tried to get Lindbergh to speak in Tulsa instead of Oklahoma City.

The only answer to a campaign of this kind is a Congressional investigation. The Black inquiry into lobbying showed that Oklahoma was a fruitful source of fake telegrams during the controversy over the Wheeler-Rayburn bill. The La Follette investigation linked the Associated Industries of Oklahoma with the National Association of Manufacturers and showed how adept the N. A. M. is in providing a phony stir at the grass roots. Who has been

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paying for the circulation of petitions, the sending of telegrams, and the reprints of the New York *World-Telegram's* anti-labor editorial of March 5, Wake Up, America? This editorial and the Kaltenborn broadcasts seem to have been the principal sparks that set our *Ersatz* prairie fire.

Attacks on the forty-hour week are being skilfully mingled with attacks on the Rural Electrification Administration and the St. Lawrence project. A Congressional inquiry might well look into the part played in this campaign by the utilities. It might also ask a few questions of Assistant Secretary of the Navy Ralph A. Bard. Mr. Bard has a right to his "personal opinion" that the forty-hour week ought to be extended to forty-eight before overtime is paid. But the country has a right to know whether he still holds the views he presumably had when he became trustee of the anti-New Deal Crusaders before the 1936 campaign. Did Bard discuss his expression of "personal opinion" with anyone before appearing at the hearing of the Senate Appropriations Committee on Friday? This Chicago stockbroker, in any case, hurt the New Deal by his testimony and ought to be eased out of his job. We have enough anti-New Dealers here already.

The campaign against the forty-hour week is spreading throughout the South and into the North. It menaces not only labor's social gains and the New Deal's control of the House in the fall elections but the successful conduct of the war itself. If the Nazis had planned it, they could have hit on no better way to destroy national unity and hurt morale. The whole campaign has ugly fascist overtones of a native variety and springs from greedy souls and twisted minds shrewdly playing on the dismay honest folk feel over the lag in war production. Labor must be discredited, if only to distract attention from the conduct of many big business men; the tide toward labor participation in management must be stemmed—at any cost. This is the familiar suicidal tradition of those who preferred to fight "communism" rather than to fight Hitler. This is the fifth column.

Strategies for Spring

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

WHILE the Pacific allies have sustained decisive defeats in the Far East, the greatest battle of this war or any war has continued to rage on the snow-covered steppes of Russia. Over a front of nearly 2,000 miles, from the Black Sea to the Arctic, the two largest and best armies of the present war have continued their titanic struggle. And despite the slow, abrasive, almost colorless nature of this conflict, made even less exciting by the reticent communiqués of both sides, it is the only front of the war that at present seems to hold seeds of victory for the United Nations.

Here the last four months have seen a change that at first nonplused the military experts of the West. Even now we probably do not know all the factors which combined to turn back the swift tide of German victories. Hitler's persistence in pushing forward in winter weather when his staff counseled him to form defensive lines well behind the front and the consequent replacement of many brilliant German generals aroused in the Allied public wishful speculation about a possible growing revolt in Germany. The recent recall of many of these same generals—conveniently recovered from their illnesses—is an indication that the Führer's egotism was not entirely triumphant over his common sense.

Even before December the Germans were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain lengthening lines of communication over "scorched earth" and in the face of skilful guerrilla operations. The necessity of detaching more and more troops for the protection of supply lines at a time when the Russians were drawing closer to their own source of supplies took much of the snap out of German offensives. And at the crucial moment of the threat to Moscow the long supply lines and the inadequacy of reserves, as compared to those of the Russians, spelled failure.

Perhaps too little credit has been given to the efficiency of the political and military organization of the Red Army and to its sterling morale and fighting qualities. Its ability to conduct a long retreat over home territory without serious loss of morale or military disaster deserves to take rank as a miracle of human resistance. At the start relatively green Russian troops faced Hitler's veterans. Not all the Red Army generals proved geniuses, and some square pegs were found. Budenny, for example, though a first-class soldier, proved a poor strategist and was transferred to the training of reserve troops, a type of work in which he has been extremely valuable. As soon as the less able men could be detected they were at once removed. Meanwhile under the supreme leadership of Timoshenko and of Stalin himself younger generals were developing their powers in the hard school of actual war.

The often repeated statement that the German defeats were due to the winter means little unless one has in

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mind the fact that the Soviets had made elaborate preparations to cope with weather difficulties while the Germans completely underestimated both Russian troops and Russian weather. Trouble with lubricating oils for tanks and planes and heavy losses among frost-bitten troops led inevitably to a lowering of German morale.

NEW WAYS OF FIGHTING

An even more important factor has been the complete revolution in the type of warfare that Russian conditions made inevitable. With relatively secure lines of communication, well-built highways, and abundant supplies of fuel, the Panzer combination of planes and tanks in which the German army excelled was irresistible. When the mobility of such weapons was decreased by frozen or non-existent supplies of gasoline and unstable footing, the entire method of warfare changed. The pace immediately slowed down to the speed of troops negotiating difficult territory on foot. Infantry and artillery, in both of which the Red Army had quantitative superiority, once more came into their own. With their best weapons largely shackled by winter conditions, the Germans went on the defensive and were forced to fight Russia's type of war—a slow, hard, costly war of attrition.

Despite the somewhat dragging character of the fighting, the Red Army generals have made repeated use of German tactics. A front of 1,800 miles has necessarily been not continuous but fluid, with considerable gaps between bodies of troops. It has therefore been possible, at least in theory, for either side to make long gains into nominally enemy territory as long as contact with large troop concentrations was avoided. In this way the Russians have been able to use the celebrated pincers tactics on a grand scale, though their tempo has been slowed up by weather conditions. Cavalry, ski troops, and parachutists have operated well ahead of the Russian spearheads, and partisans have done considerable, though probably overrated, damage behind the German lines, but the rate of advance has been determined by the infantry. In many cases these tactics have brought about the encirclement of large forces of the enemy. Such isolated islands of resistance are then left for the artillery to reduce as the main forces push on. However, German troops, though surrounded, have proved fully as difficult to destroy or capture as were Russians earlier in the war. Resistance has been kept up by means of supplies transported by air, and the reduction of pockets has proved costly to both sides.

Faced by an enemy superior in both numbers and artillery, the German army has been steadily losing ground. But even its retreats are ominous. Though forced, they have been orderly and careful; at no time have the Germans been pressed into anything approaching a rout.

After four months of steady progress the Red Army can point to definite and valuable achievements. Between 20 and 25 per cent of the area conquered by the German drive has now been retaken. In the north the Finns have lost most of their earlier gains. The siege of Leningrad has been lifted, and Moscow has been put out of danger for some time to come. More important, some of the bases intended by the Germans for use in launching a spring offensive have been seized; other vitally important points, such as Smolensk, are in peril and may well be retaken before summer weather arrives. In the south the gains are less impressive. The occupation of Rostov and of the eastern end of the Crimean Peninsula has closed, at least for the moment, the easiest paths to the Caucasus, but the rich agricultural and metal resources of the Ukraine are still in German hands. They have so far proved of less value than was expected, and their loss has not crippled the Russian war effort, but continued occupation will afford the Germans a chance to develop them. In the Ukraine every Russian thrust at valuable territory has been followed by sharp German counter-attacks.

Marshal Timoshenko

More serious for the Germans than their relinquishment of conquered territory have been their losses of men and equipment. Reliable figures on comparative losses are of course unobtainable, but there is reason to believe that the German casualty rate now exceeds the Russian. And the Soviets are far better able to repair huge losses of man-power than is Germany, harassed by the problem of keeping in subjection many millions of conquered peoples. The extreme measures used by Hitler to keep up production, such as the employment of the blind and consumptive, give excellent indication that Germany is now under enormous strain in trying to keep both the military and the economic machine working at top speed.

The Russians have gained a less tangible but extremely valuable advantage in their heightened morale. If any possibility of peace between Hitler and Stalin short of complete defeat of one or the other ever existed, the bitterness aroused by German devastation and atrocities has eliminated it. Even in the days of early defeat Russian morale left nothing to be desired; now, aflame with hatred and inspired with a new consciousness of the meaning of success, the Red Army will be hard to stop. At the same time the Germans have lost the aura of

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invincibility, and Hitler's personal direction during a period of defeat has not raised his prestige. Having accepted for four months a defensive role new in its experience, the German army may have lost some of its earlier keen offensive edge.

OTHER FRONTS

But this is only one side of today's war. The gains from the Russian counter-offensive have been very limited compared to the earlier conquests of Hitler. Nearly all the important Russian industrial areas and most of the strategic bases for a spring offensive are still in German hands. At a high price but nevertheless effectively the Germans have adapted themselves to a new type of warfare and held enemy gains to a minimum. With spring approaching and Hitler committed by both economic interest and prestige to victory in the east, what is the outlook for a German offensive and how may we aid in defeating it?

In Libya the desert war between British and Axis forces has reached a period of quiescence while the two sides repair their forces. The supply problem for both is extremely difficult. In all probability only the connivance of Vichy in the transport of reinforcements kept the Germans from disaster in the late fall of 1941, though the advance of British troops beyond their sources of supply and the able generalship of Rommel contributed to the quick reversal of Axis fortunes. Germany is reported to be making strong efforts to reinforce its air bases in the Mediterranean, possibly in anticipation of a renewed attack. Complete victory in this area for either side will not be easy. Short of a British capture of Tripoli or German success in reaching Alexandria, the Nile, and Suez, the gain or loss of vast areas will not vitally affect the outcome.

Numerous other lines of attack are of course open to Hitler, but the theater of war regarded as the most likely field for a German thrust is the Near East. Either an aerial attack on Cyprus as the stepping-stone to the conquest of Syria and Palestine and then of Iraq and Iran or a push through Turkey aimed at the Caucasus or Iraq is a distinct possibility. In either case fairly formidable obstacles would be encountered. Turkey has a moderately large army and offers extreme difficulties of terrain. And it would probably make its bases available to Britain and Russia if it were attacked. A year ago had Hitler chosen to turn his full energy against the British in the Middle East, he would undoubtedly have won a decisive victory and obtained great supplies of oil. Today such an attack would meet much stronger opposition, and the German forces available in this theater would be more limited.

Obviously the Russian front dominates German strategy in all theaters of war. Unless Hitler can feel secure there, he cannot, even for reasons of prestige, undertake new troop-consuming offensives in other directions. If the Red Army is able to get anything even approaching a stalemate for another year, the machinery of Anglo-American intervention will be completed and Hitler will face his greatest dread—war on two fronts.

Everything indicates that he is keenly alive to the crucial nature of the coming campaign and, by inference, to the power of American intervention. The recent submarine offensive, the stationing of major war vessels in Norwegian waters where they are in a position to attempt forays against the main Allied supply line to the Soviet Union, a war of nerves against Sweden, hurried preparations for a major spring offensive, all are evidence of a desperate need to dispose of one major foe before the other can make its weight felt.

THE COMING INVASION OF EUROPE

Nor is Mr. Roosevelt asleep. Whatever the faults of our High Command in underestimating Japan, it has not been guilty of the same offense as regards Germany. In fact, the major feature of our 1941 plan for total war was the formation of a monster A. E. F. to invade the continent of Europe. This was not intended to be ready before July, 1943, though Russian resistance was expected to be liquidated a year previous.

The unexpected strength of the Red Army and the possibility of victory thus opened up have laid upon us the necessity of invading Europe, if possible, a year earlier than the date fixed in the original schedule. Since our forces should, by preference, operate near those of Russia and as far as possible from the main center of German power, Norway is clearly the battlefield indicated. Norway, moreover, offers numerous possible landing places distributed through an area where scattered German garrisons are handicapped by poor transportation. A successful Norwegian campaign would also cut off much Kiruna ore from Germany and strengthen Allied supply lines to Russia. It is, in fact, in Norway that according to our 1941 war plan we should strike our first blow.

Many requirements for success are lacking. Powerful naval air support will be needed if we are to gain strong footholds for invasion. Our own troops in Ireland at present are not sufficiently numerous, and the two million or more British soldiers are of very uncertain value, for waging an offensive war. We are also desperately short of the merchant tonnage needed to supply a new front. And the Germans obviously expect a blow at this point.

These considerations may delay or even rule out the opening of a new front. But the difficulties should be surmounted if possible. Much of Axis success has resulted from bold chance-taking; the Germans have acted on the maxim that "an excess of caution soon becomes imbecility." We have sacrificed strength in the Far East because of Europe, and it is time this sacrifice started to pay dividends.

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War on Top of the World

BY LYN IRVINE

WE TALK a great deal about global warfare, but to study its progress, its catastrophic ebb and flow, you and I and Mr. Roosevelt all use a map of the world based on that manipulation of the facts called Mercator's Projection. It was sitting by such a map that Mr. Roosevelt was photographed delivering his fireside talk of February 23. Yet we all know that if we could peel the surface off the world, it would not form a rectangle; it would not even lie flat. We all know that the North and South Poles measure nothing, and that any map which stretches out that nothingness to a line equal in length to the Equator is not concerned with distances but with the relative position of countries and the directions that must be followed in getting from one place to another. If, as we are often told, the time-distance factor is all important in this war, ought we to trust ourselves to use such maps? Is it not possible that the distortion perpetually before our eyes influences us more than we imagine? To take one example of the way in which Mercator's Projection distorts distances: according to it, from Alaska to Spitzbergen appears to be about 11,000 flying miles, whereas in reality it is 2,200.

In our anxious concentration upon such maps and upon the immense equatorial distances that they *truly* show—again emphasized for us by the President in his talk—we are forgetting some of the most important facts about the present struggle. It is essential to correct and complete the picture that we have by studying a map of the North Polar regions. The world looks so unfamiliar from this angle that we feel dizzy gazing at it, as though we were hanging head down above the earth itself. And even more unfamiliar is the sight of the anti-Axis powers united so closely by geography. We see about a third of the world's surface, the North Pole in the center ringed round with Russia, the United States of America, Canada and Great Britain, Greenland and Iceland. China, Russia's neighbor, lies just outside the picture. North of Latitude 60° N. this great ring of allied countries is broken at one point only, where Norway and Finland run up into the Arctic Circle. The four major warring powers of the United Nations stand together on the top of the world, back to back against the Pole.

It is a position of such unique strategic value that it must make Hitler sick with envy to think of it. If we only understand and develop our geographic advantages in time, neither Germany nor Japan will have the faintest chance of victory. They have no alternative but to fight around the bulge of the globe and to maintain the longest sea routes for communication and attack, but we can develop northern lines of supply which are a fraction of equatorial distances. From the north we can strike our enemies in their vital parts and thus save ourselves the hopeless task of chopping off the octopus arms that they have twined round the imperial treasures of the south. Even the American people, accustomed to thinking in thousands of miles, are appalled by the distances that their navy must cover. In so far as the war is fought in the minds and hopes of the people we are at this moment losing it fast, because our leaders have suggested no program for victory that is within the grasp of the imagination. We are all spiritually swimming for our lives in the Pacific Ocean, and the hopelessness of it affects everything we try to do. Courage and determination alone will never see us through; we need fresh blood and fresh ideas. The polar winds could do the trick.

The reader will perhaps wonder why this possibility has not been in the forefront of all Allied plans. But he must remember that until December 8, 1941, a vital link in the Arctic chain was colored neutral, and that since the United States entered the war, all thoughts have necessarily been centered on the southeast and not on the northeast. The speed of the Japanese drive has given the leaders in Washington and London no respite. And in spite of the growing demand for attack instead of defense tactics, we are so used to letting the other side appoint the battlefield and the battle hour that it is hard to conceive of opening up a front ourselves, of striking down from the north, from the heart of our own hemisphere. On the other hand, the American and British governments may be secretly at work on a polar scheme as the central long-term, all-out strategy of the United Nations.

The most hopeful sign of American and Canadian realization of the value of the northern route—though it may be inspired by a policy of defense without appreciation of the possibilities of attack—is the agreement now reached for the construction of a road from Fort St. John in British Columbia to Fairbanks in Alaska. In the *New Republic* of March 2 Benton Mackaye outlined a possible continuation of this to form an "Alaska-Siberia Burma Road" running from Edmonton to Irkutsk on the Trans-Siberian Railway, "roughly 8,000 miles from the arsenals of Detroit to a front on Manchoukuo." There would be a great future for any mainly overland connection between Detroit and Irkutsk. Let

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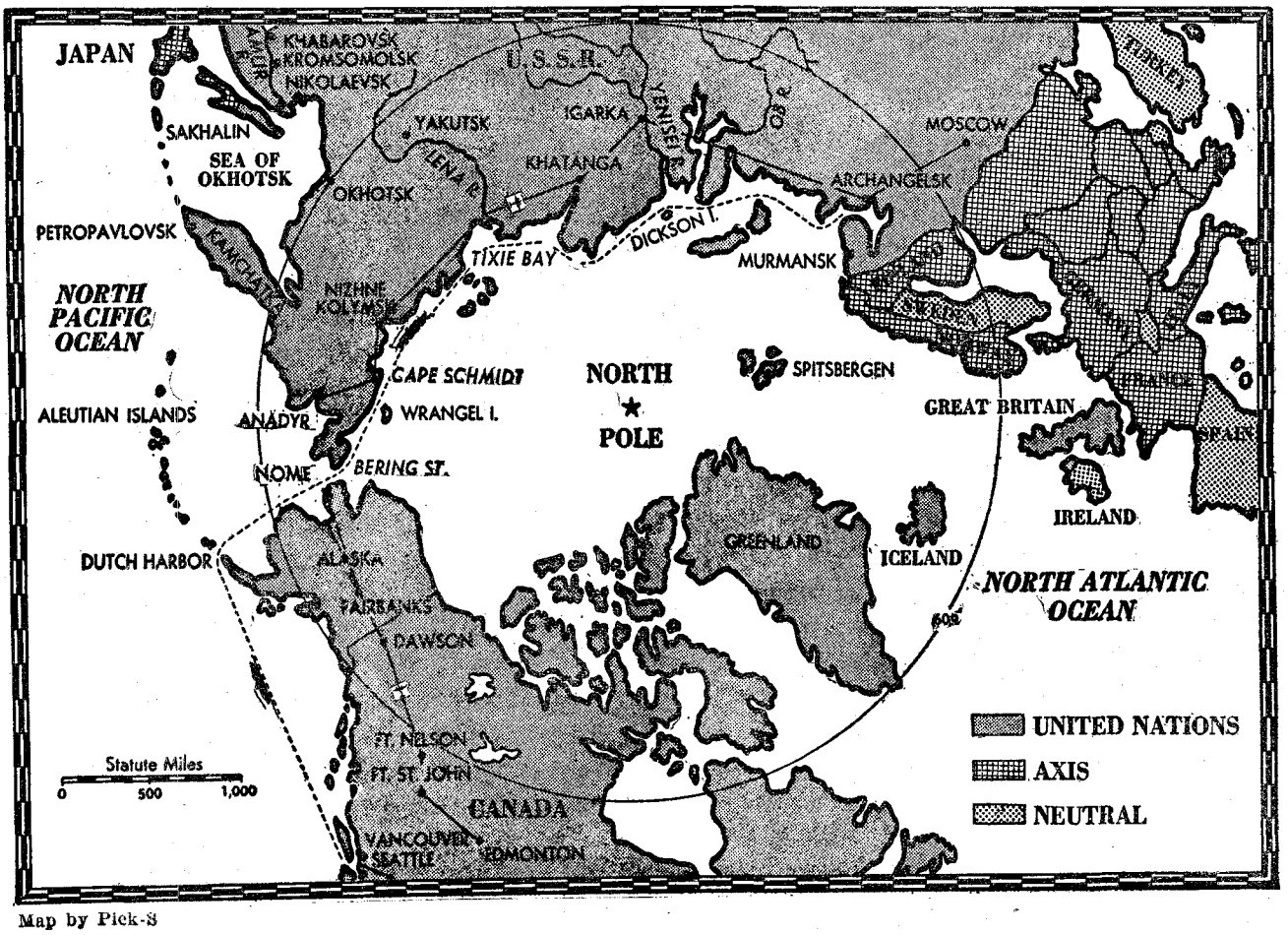
us carry the vision of Mr. Mackaye a step farther. From Irkutsk supplies for China could be taken by rail to Alma Ata on the Turksib Railway, from which point a trucking service to Chungking has been in existence for four years. Such a route, in spite of the detour around Mongolia, would be roughly 5,000 miles shorter, and infinitely safer, than the route via Cape Town, Iran, and Alma Ata which, according to a dispatch from Chungking dated February 22, is already under consideration as an alternative to the new road from India.

The least known and most problematic area involved in a plan for polar operations is the Soviet Far East, where over immense distances no regular communication exists except by air. *Russia at War* for February 28 gives an impressive list of possible all-the-year-round methods of transporting materials from either Kamchatka or Sakhalin to Komsomolsk on the Amur, which port now has a connection by rail with Khabarovsk, on the Trans-Siberian Railway. But all these routes pass so closely under the eye of Japan that their safety depends upon peace between that country and Russia. A sea route not exposed to anything like the same risk, in fact, the safest sea route from America to Asia and Europe that now exists, is the Soviet "Arctic life line," 6,000 miles from Seattle to Archangel, open for just over three months of the year. The establishing of this route has been one of the great recent achievements of the Soviets, whose Arctic fleet now includes more than forty icebreakers. "In 1939 the new Soviet icebreaker J. Stalin in a 12,000-mile voyage of seventy days not only reached the Bering Strait from Murmansk but returned to her western base as well" (*The American Review of the Soviet Union,* February-March, 1942). Supporting this vital sea route is a new 5,000-mile air line from Moscow to Anadyr on the Bering Strait, inaugurated just a year ago; Bulletin 59 issued by the Soviet embassy at Washington says that "the development of Soviet Arctic aviation has made possible the use of the polar air route, approximately 6,000 miles from Moscow to any part of the northern border of the United States." The airports on the Moscow-to-Anadyr route are at Archangel, Igarka, Khatanga, Tiksi Bay, and Cape Schmidt, stepping-stones sufficiently close together for fighter planes as well as bombers to be flown this way to Moscow, and from there to Alma Ata or even Delhi.

Behind this brief account of routes actual and theoretical, by land, sea, and air, lie the little-known facts about Siberia itself and what Vilhjalmur Stefansson calls the "friendly Arctic." There is much to encourage us and little to discourage in the reports of those who know the land and the seas. In the coldest of all parts, the region round Yakutsk, the summer temperature rises to 80° Fahrenheit. Siberia is rich in coal and minerals, and the Northern Sea Route Administration plans that even



Map by Pick-8

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polar weather stations shall live off the country, with hothouse gardens, cows, and pigs.

If the American continent is the great reservoir of men and materials in this war, what we need to conceive and construct forthwith is a gigantic piece of global plumbing, a circulating system with many pipe lines leading off to our distant allies. The obvious route for the main flow is the northerly one. It is short by comparison, and safe. It would ease the strain on merchant shipping and the navy since land and air transportation is possible over many thousands of its miles. The period when its capacity would be greatest is just that period when the light nights make the North Atlantic most dangerous. Over land many different forms of transport can be used; dignity and uniformity must give way to the practical and the speedy, as they did in the evacuation of Dunkirk. Hannibal crossed the Alps, and Chiang Kai-shek now proposes to cross the spurs of the Himalayas; we can surely cross Alaska and, with Russia's permission, Siberia too. Both the Russians and the Germans have shown us that men and material can be moved over difficult country without adequate roads or railways in subzero weather. We can be sure that if Hitler had a short backstairs to his allies, whatever the difficulties, he would surmount them—to our eternal astonishment and discomfiture.

What Cripps Faces in India

BY KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI

JUST at the moment when his political star shines brightest, Sir Stafford Cripps has chosen to risk his career by going to India to help solve one of the most controversial problems of the day. Those who know both India and England agree that he is the only Englishman who might be able to bring about a solution. Those who know Sir Stafford personally understand that his conscience left him no choice. His love for India and his devotion to the cause of freedom for all men impelled him to take passage to India even though, by remaining at home, he might have reached the highest position in the country. I had the privilege of meeting him in New York shortly before he was appointed ambassador to Russia. He was on his way back from India and China, where he had conferred with the leaders of millions of men. With Nehru especially, an old school friend, he had had long conversations. What he said to me about my country's problems and my country's leaders convinced me even then that in an Indo-British crisis both nations might well ask Cripps to negotiate.

From India's point of view, then, Sir Stafford is the only hopeful feature in what otherwise looks like a gloomy picture. Winston Churchill's promise of post-war dominion status falls too far short of India's expectations and has already been rejected by India's leaders. It is nothing new. The National Congress Party—whose titular head is the Moslem Azad, whose active head is Jawaharlal Nehru, and whose spiritual head is still Mohandas K. Gandhi, in spite of the recent political renunciation of the Mahatma—demands complete independence before it will budge an inch in the direction of war cooperation. Nor will the Moslem League take anything less, for it always insists upon being as patriotic as the Congress Party. Even the "moderates" and the "liberals," whose vociferousness makes up for their small number, led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru demand dominion status now and not after the war. When these liberals, masters of the fine art of compromise, become so uncompromising, it should be regarded as the handwriting on the wall. From this point on, *dominion status now* is the only basis on which any fruitful conversations can be held between Indian and British leaders. Even that will not satisfy India, if I know my country's present temper. Indian leaders have asked to have a definite date set—such a promise as was given to the Philippines by the United States—a date for complete independence or for voluntary participation in an acceptable world order after the war. But it is quite likely that even dominion status for the duration with the promise of post-war independence might be rejected by the Congress Nationalists.

The Churchill statement does not go nearly so far. Sir Stafford has therefore undertaken what would appear to be a hopeless task. It is safe to conjecture, however, that he has taken along with him more radical proposals than have been admitted by Churchill so far. Knowing India as he does, he would hardly have gone otherwise.

But not all Sir Stafford's difficulties are caused by British Tories. India itself is placing stumbling-blocks in the path of his great mission, on the success of which hangs not only India's future but victory for the United Nations in the Battle of Asia. Fortunately, the obstacles offered by India fall into one simple category—internal dissensions. These dissensions however, must be treated as two distinct problems—the Hindu-Moslem problem and the problem of the princes—and it is these problems that Cripps and the Indian leaders must solve.

Before I go into the intricacies of the Hindu-Moslem

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Ali Jinnah

controversy, I should like to dispel some of the current misconceptions disseminated in the United States by interested parties. The Congress Party, for instance, is not a Hindu organization. It is a national body which embraces Hindus and Moslems, Christians and Sikhs, Jews and untouchables. It is above religion and race, creed and color. It is wholly unlike the Moslem League, which is sectarian; the Hindu counterpart of the Moslem League is the Hindu Mahasabha. In the second place, it is not the Moslem community of India which is apparently at loggerheads with the Congress Party. It is an organization called the Moslem League which challenges the claim of the Congress Party to speak for India. Thirdly, Moslems do not form the bulk of the fighting forces of India. According to British military officials in India, the number of Moslem soldiers does not loom large even in proportion to the number of Moslems in the community. And lastly, the Near Eastern Moslem world, though sympathetic toward the Indian Moslems, is not the champion of the Moslem League. In fact, whatever comments on the Indian situation have come from Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Arabia, Turkey, and Afghanistan have been favorable to the Congress and definitely opposed to the policies of the Moslem League. It is the Congress Party, not the Moslem League, which has semi-official relations with the Moslem nationalists of the Middle and Near East. So there is neither moral nor factual foundation for the argument that the status quo must be maintained because of the Near Eastern Mohammedans.

The Hindu-Moslem problem of India is not insoluble if it is approached with sincerity by both Hindu and Moslem leaders. But even more important is the sincerity of the British. The central authority has played many disruptive tricks, and if it is not ready to part with power, it may still use Hindu-Moslem disputes as an excuse. As Gandhi recently said, once the British change their attitude toward India, the solution will follow as day follows night.

Now let us go into the details of the Hindu-Moslem problem. The real minorities of India—the Sikhs, the Parsees, the Christians, the Buddhists, and the Jainists—are apparently at peace with the Hindu majority, and they do not ask for any special privileges unless such privileges are granted to the Moslems. Theirs is a defense psychology not against the majority but against another minority, a large minority.

There are in India in round numbers 250,000,000 Hindus and 80,000,000 Moslems. Roughly, the ratio is three to one. The Moslems, no doubt, are numerically a minority, but can 80,000,000 people, ask the Nationalists, ever be considered a political minority weak enough to be exploited in a democracy? Moreover, the Northwest Frontier Province is more Mohammedan than the rest of India; 95 per cent of the population is Moslem. Yet the province has been under the complete control of the Congress Party, and Gandhi has always had more devout followers there than in predominantly Hindu regions.

In spite of these facts, the Moslem League claims the leadership of the entire Mohammedan community in India. The Congress, too, confident that a great majority of the Indian Moslems are with it, has committed some indiscretions. It has unduly ignored the Moslem League and thus injured the personal vanity of certain Moslem leaders. Fortunately there are some decisive figures which tell the true story and dispel the exaggerations on both sides. The latest test of political strength was provided by the first national election held under the new constitution in 1937. What happened then? India's 36,000,000 enfranchised voters returned the Congress Party to power by an overwhelming majority and installed its candidates as Ministers throughout two-thirds of India. To be more precise, it captured absolute majorities in seven of the eleven provinces, and within six months brought two more provinces under its banner. And even in the remaining two provinces the Congress Party had the largest single voting bloc, though not a clear majority. This in spite of the fact that the franchise was limited to people with property and education, while the real strength of the Congress lies in the impoverished masses.

What showing did the Moslem League make? The new constitution provides 482 seats for the representatives of the Moslem community in the eleven Provincial Assemblies. Of these 482, only 110 were elected on the Moslem League ticket. That revealed that the Moslem League could claim the support of less than one-fourth of the Moslem community. It also meant that more Mohammedans follow the Congress than the Moslem League.

Thus Sir Stafford will not only have to secure the necessary guaranties for all minorities, but will also have to establish the position that majority rule is no crime in a democracy or in any other form of government. He will have to prevent *a minority within the Moslem minority* from exercising a veto power over the destiny of 400,000,000 Indians.

His task will not be so hard as is generally believed. The Hindus are the most tolerant people in the world.

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Moreover, most Hindus believe that because they are in a majority they should make greater sacrifices than the Moslems in the interest of Indian unity. It is a question of creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust, and it is up to the majority to take the lead. Most young Hindus also advocate and work for the abolition of the caste system, which in many imperceptible ways has worked against a harmonious blending of the two great religious groups of India. A reasonable resolution of the Hindu-Moslem differences therefore should not be difficult. The Congress Party has announced its willingness to grant all proper demands of the Moslems and something more. It has codified its good intentions in official resolutions which proclaim that no decision touching upon the Moslems of India will ever be taken without the consent of the Moslems themselves, and that any disputes will be referred to an impartial tribunal.

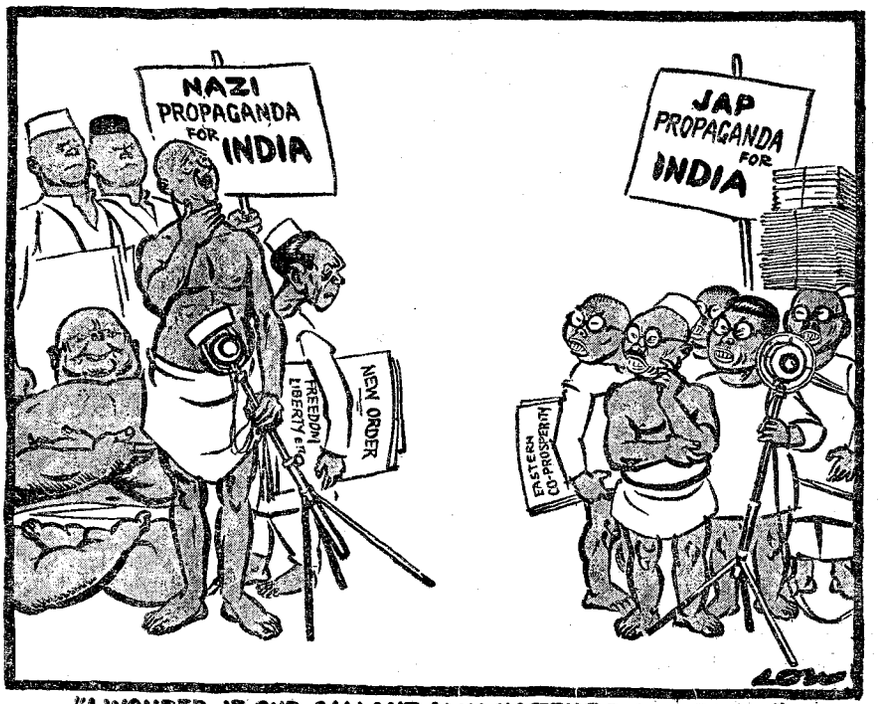
But there is one thing, the Nationalists insist, which cannot be granted, and that is the plan to partition India along religious lines. This is the dream of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the president of the Moslem League. He refuses to agree to any settlement which is not based upon the idea of two Indias—a Moslem India and a Hindu India. But since both Moslems and Hindus are spread all over the country, tens of millions would have to move if Mr. Jinnah's dream came true. This "Balkanization" of India, fortunately, is dreaded by many Moslems, and for a long time Mr. Jinnah himself used it chiefly as a bargaining point; to Hindus it is naturally anathema.

The personal problem of Mr. Jinnah may prove more difficult for Sir Stafford to solve than the larger issue of Hindu-Moslem unity. But a compromise short of *Pakistan,* the partition plan, is not only possible but probable, and when it is reached, either Mr. Jinnah will have to change his tune to suit the temper of a reborn India or he will become politically impotent. Lately he has been backing his demand with a threat of revolt, but I think Sir Stafford knows India well enough not to be taken in by that bluff. Bengal and the Punjab are the two provinces which have so far given Mr. Jinnah whatever strength he has, and only a few months ago the governing Ministry of Bengal repudiated him and reformed the Cabinet. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, still backs Mr. Jinnah, but he too detests *Pakistan.* Thus it should not be difficult to arrive at a compromise which will destroy the illogical and sinister idea of dividing India when the rest of the world is struggling toward closer union.

Sir Stafford can draw his inspiration from either of two historical precedents, and the success of his mission will largely depend upon his choice. One is the English action which divided Ireland and made it a continuously smoldering powder keg. The other is the American example: Abraham Lincoln dealt firmly and resolutely—but with malice toward none—with the threat of secession and created a mighty and united nation.

The problem of the Indian princes should not be difficult for Sir Stafford, for it is no longer an Indian problem; it is purely a British problem. Nobody in India now wants those 560 native rulers; on this point the 80,000,000 "subjects" who live under them are at one with the Congress Party. We all know that Great Britain has promised the Maharajahs protection. But the Nationalists argue that Great Britain has broken so many good promises in the past that it would not do any harm if it broke a bad one for a change. It looks as if Britain were on the eve of compelling its proteges to accede to popular demands; only the other day the Viceroy asked the princes to sacrifice their privileges if these impeded the war effort by perpetuating India's disunity.

India's problems are no more complicated than those of China, or Poland, or the United States. What is needed is foresight on the part of Indian leaders, which there is plenty of evidence that they possess, and sincerity on the part of Britain, of which Sir Stafford should be regarded as a guaranty. Let us hope that neither a few Indian leaders nor the Tories at home will be able to prevent him from inaugurating a great democracy in Asia.



"I WONDER IF OUR GALLANT ALLY HAS THE RIGHT IDEA..."

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Blessed Bahamas

BY ARTHUR LIEBERS

WAR may be hell, but the sunny beaches and shaded roads of Nassau are far from the blasted streets of Whitechapel and Cheapside, or the prison camps on Singapore. Not that His Majesty's colony of the Bahamas can be accused of shirking its share of the war effort. The annual social affairs which were the *only* events of the year have been cut to a minimum, and instead of meeting one's friends at dinners and balls at Government House one has to associate with the most horrible people, who can be seen sitting practically on top of Her Grace at Red Cross benefits.

The Four Horsemen have left their mark on the life of Nassau. One cannot buy American currency or take out any considerable amount of English or colonial funds, which means no more summers spent in the states. One may visit Canada by making some very confusing exchange arrangements, but *no one* is in Canada now; so one perforce remains in the colony and goes through the summer session of typhoid, which sweeps the island with equinoctial regularity. Fortunately, the typhoid is a mild variety which usually yields to treatment.

However, the Bahamas offer consolations to make up for the sacrifices of war. There is none of that silly rationing business. The finest tweeds from the looms of Scotland, the softest sweaters and doeskins, the rarest perfumes, and the tastiest canned and bottled delicacies are offered in the stores. True, the price may be two or three times what it is in England, but one who needs to cavil over costs shouldn't be in Nassau.

The native population of the Bahamas is just what a white man needs to flatter his ego and dispel any doubts as to the supremacy of the unpigmented. The Bahaman Negro is raised to lead a carefree life untroubled by the doubts which too much education brings to the soul of man. The islands' school of higher education for Negroes, the Dundas Civic Center, turns out cooks, maids, and butlers—the meekest and best in the world.

There seems to be no shortage of gasoline in Nassau. When one becomes bored with the palms and beaches, one can charter a plane and visit the outer islands, or rent a boat and spend a few days cruising among the cays. For the athletic, there are water-skiing and aquaplaning. For the fisherman, the waters are stocked with all good things. Amberjack, kingfish, bonita, mackerel, peto, and other species wait for the sixty-dollar-a-day fishing boat to appear and tempt them with expensive tackle to the dockside scale and photographer.

In Nassau talk of the war, while not taboo, is frowned upon. The daily four-page paper takes a very refined attitude toward the conflict. Four pages don't allow too much space for news, and what really matters is the list of new arrivals from the states and what is happening at the ducal residence. The empire has enough warships to lose one or two without making a fuss, but if Mrs. Muttonly has dinner with Her Grace, while Lady Beefly has to dine at the hotel, that's *news*.

Perhaps the greatest charm of the Bahamas is the class of people one meets. The war helped in a way, since it eliminated the cut-rate tourists who came to the islands by coastal steamer. Pan-American Airways now runs up to three flights daily from Miami to Nassau during the season. A subsidized shipping company receives $700 a week to run three weekly trips from Miami, to assure a steady supply of food and necessities.

The Bahamas have never fallen for that new-fashioned idea of the equality of man. The famous Porcupine Club on Paradise Beach sets the social and political standards. Property owners alone have suffrage, and the price of a vote has been set by precedent at $15. The precincts of the Porcupine Club have never been polluted by the touch of the son of Ham or the son of Israel, and while the former King was welcomed, there was some question whether his wife should be accepted.

To many an American citizen with March 15 jitters the fact that the colony had no income tax made it a delightful refuge. A few dollars paid to a lawyer, a Bahaman corporation formed, a few more dollars paid in legal fees, a shingle hung up to meet the requirement of local laws: then the United States Department of Internal Revenue could be told that one was now a Bahaman corporation and could not be expected to pay an income tax to any other country. This income-tax arrangement has been a great help to the islands' economy.

Various means have been tried to make the islands self-sufficient. At one time citrus fruits boomed; then the blue-gray fly came and wiped out the groves. There was a sponge industry; an unknown malady which prevented breeding—sponges are animals—crippled that. Tomatoes grow profusely, but they grow almost anywhere. The fish are sport fish, not commercial.

The economy of present-day Nassau is based on the sixty tourists who arrive daily by air and the British who receive regular remittances. Its activities are pictured in *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*. Visitors return home inspired by the memory of how comfortable life can be in a country which has been at war for two years.

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Amateur Strategists

BY G. A. BORGESE

IT WAS impressive to hear again the rebuke of Consul Lucius Aemilius to the amateur strategists of his time—168 B.C.—as reported by Livy and quoted extensively by Mr. Roosevelt at his press conference of March 17.

There are, however, other stories. One is in Herodotus, I, 84. It refers to events of 546 B.C. when Croesus and the Lydian empire fell to Cyrus.

> Now this is how Sardis was taken. When Croesus had been besieged for fourteen days, Cyrus sent horsemen about in his army to promise rewards to him who should first mount the wall. . . . A certain Mardian called Hyroeades essayed to mount by a part of the citadel where no guard had been set; for here the height on which the citadel stood was sheer and hardly to be assaulted, and none feared that it could be taken by an attack made here. . . . So then it chanced that, on the day before, this Mardian, Hyroeades, had seen one of the Lydians descend by this part of the citadel after a helmet that had fallen down, and fetch it; he took note of this and considered it, and now he himself climbed up, and other Persians after him. Many ascended, and thus was Sardis taken. [Translation by A. D. Godley.]

Another story refers to events of 773 A.D. It is reported by medieval historians such as Anastasius, Frodoard, Agnellus Ravennatis, and the Chronicler of Moissiac.

> Charlemagne, having dismissed all hope of forcing the Chiuse [a kind of Maginot Line at the entrance of Langobardic Italy] and not suspecting that there might be another way for invading Italy, had made up his mind to return the next day to France, when a deacon, called Martin, arrived at the camp of the Franks. This man taught Charlemagne a secret mountain pass to outflank the fortresses and to descend into Italy. Charles, then, sent a picked army to that difficult passage. The Langobards, at the unexpected thrust, turned to disorderly flight, and the King with the bulk of his Franks passed through the abandoned Chiuse.

According to other sources the pathfinder of Charlemagne was an itinerant minstrel. If that is so, he could not even rank with the "editors" whom Mr. Roosevelt, supported by Livy, has taken so severely to task. He was nothing but a poet. As for the conqueror of Sardis, he was a Mardian, that is, one of a nomad Persian tribe, obviously illiterate. Perhaps as a wanderer he had learned to look at things.

Neither Hyroeades nor Martin—deacon or minstrel—had a seat in the Cabinet or rank in the General Staff. The lion of the fable does not know whether or when a little mouse may help him out of the net in which he may happen to be caught. Cyrus and Charlemagne were successful generals. It did not harm them to listen occasionally to "amateur strategists."

In the Wind

WENDELL WILLKIE and Thomas E. Dewey are still fighting each other for control of the Republican machine in New York State. Willkie has told friends that if Dewey is nominated for governor this year, he will bolt his party and support Lehman. Dewey, for his part, is seeking a new base of support in the American Labor Party's left wing, whose hundred thousand votes are often enough to swing a state election. In a move interpreted as an effort to curry favor with the radicals, Dewey recently proposed to the Board of Higher Education of New York City that it permit fifteen college teachers suspended on charges of communism to resign rather than be expelled, thereby permitting them to seek jobs elsewhere in the school system.

AN ADVERTISEMENT of the Neponset Woolen Mills in the *American Funeral Director* tells of a new material for shrouds called "victory cloth." It is, says the ad, "made for the burial-goods industry so that we may maintain the American way of life."

TWO MORE MAGAZINES have ceased publication because of war-time economic difficulties—the *Living Age,* a century-old review of the foreign press, and the *Kenyon Review,* a literary journal edited by John Crowe Ransom.

AN EXECUTIVE of a metropolitan department store told reporters, off the record, that his firm's biggest hoarding story to date was about a $1,200 grocery order placed by a resident of a three-room apartment.

AN ITALIAN Socialist weekly, *La Parola,* published in New York, is presenting evidence of Fascist activity which the Dies committee had in its possession but refused to release. The paper has reproduced verbatim a rehearsal of testimony to be given by Girolamo Valenti, the anti-Fascist editor of *La Parola,* before the Dies committee. Although Valenti named men whom the government has since arrested, the committee called off the hearing after reading Valenti's evidence.

A FEW MONTHS AGO several divisions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers agreed to donate part of their time and labor to making garments for the Red Cross. They requested that they be permitted to sew into each item an Amalgamated union label. Red Cross officials said that it was against organization policy to permit the union label, and so no Red Cross clothes will bear it.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE NEW "REPUBLIC"*

BY I. A. RICHARDS

NO BOOK except the Bible has had so much influence upon us as "The Republic." In a very real sense we are its creatures. "That book," said the Yankee farmer to Emerson, who had lent him it, "has a great number of my idees." Socrates's words at the end of Book IX have come true; we are citizens of the state he founded. "The greatest of the Greek inventions," said Werner Jaeger recently, "was man himself." He meant Western man of course. The Chinese had Confucius and Mencius to do for them what Plato did for us—give them forever their picture of their true selves. We come short of it endlessly, of course, but it is of Plato's guardian mind that we come short.

Yet we may never have read a word of Plato. It is still true. Most of our serious thoughts have been echoes of his. Every successful student of Plato comes to feel that later literature is a whispering gallery. Plato's thought—miraculously mated with Christianity in the third century—still lights the eyes of every enthusiastic new discoverer of Truth. If this surprises you, read Emerson's "Representative Men," should reading Plato himself seem too much.

Reading Plato himself is a big undertaking. Even among those who are coaxed and coached through it few successful readers will be found. A successful reader is one who knows more *about himself* and *about the good* after his reading. It is easy to learn *about* Plato, harder to learn about these things *from* him. This is partly because we had already learned so much from him before we opened his pages. But partly it is due to the superb pedagogy in "The Republic." There never was a book of such scope so well designed for *its* pupils. It acted perfectly on the scholar disciples it was written for. But though we are disciples—witting or unwitting—we are not those scholars. The very spaciousness of the book, the broad introductory sketches, the anticipatory hints, the figurative indications, the minor parallels, the cunningly arranged correspondencies and contrasts, the gambits and the recapitulations, the returns to deeper levels through passages hewn already only for this purpose—all that art entirely misses its effect on us at a first reading. How many, for example, have thrown "The Republic" down toward the end of the first book, unaware that a main ingredient of their dissatisfaction is something Plato intended them to feel. The arguments *are* bad. Thrasymachus gives up too easily. But Socrates knows this better than we do. We are meant to feel, "This sort of thing will never do!" Unfortunately, "this sort of thing" in this guise is so unfamiliar to us that we miss the point and blame Plato when we should be blaming sundry combative tricks in argument we ourselves use, in other guises, every day.

Again, as Plato develops the great parallel between society and the mind—which has shaped so many societies and so many minds—how many notice that Socrates says, "We shall never reach the truth this way"? This is a parallel, a figure of speech which is perpetually necessary, not an argument. The modern sociologist is apt to take his own arguments so seriously that he overlooks Plato's analysis of method and his hints that in "these things" even a Glaucon—surely the best audience that any man could ever hope for—must be content with parallels. On these and many other fundamental points the temptation to write yet further commentaries is irresistible. I have indulged it by putting what I have to say about "dialectic," and much else that is central here, into my How to Read a Page, which is published with this and is in its latter parts just some more of those "footnotes to Plato" of which, as Whitehead said, "Western philosophy consists."

"The Republic," as it stands in the English versions of the best scholars, is ineffective today for the very reasons which have made it effective in Plato's Greek. The main lines of its thought become lost among the qualifications and preparations and the polite and (to the Greek) persuasive indirections.

The very familiarity, too, of some of the ideas prevents us from seeing their everlasting novelty. They are like our hands and feet; only now and then do we realize them and how much they do for us. Of all media which could guard us from this awakening shock, a translator's English which attempts to follow the Greek meticulously in minor detail and social tone is the most absorbent. Plato's style deployed endless exquisite devices for meeting attitudes and expectations in his readers which sprang from their milieu. These attitudes and expectations never arise in us; we have our own. A dummy discourse in English does not meet them, however well it is trained to ape the alien delicacies of the Greek. Nor does it help us in taking what Plato said to heart. Versions in nineteenth-century idiom did help the nineteenth century to realize itself. Today they have the uncanny effect of making Plato seem mid-Victorian. We hardly know which of two remote worlds we are exploring.

This is unfair both to Plato and to Jowett. But its causes lie deeper than even the perennial moral strife between intellectual generations. It is the effort to get *all* of Plato's meaning into our English—just that meaning and nothing less—which befogs the translator's prose. It is a wholly admirable effort and ambition from the point of view of scholarship *in Greek*. To try to say it in English is one of

* This essay forms the introduction to a new version of "The Republic" of Plato founded on Basic English which has been prepared by I. A. Richards and will be published on April 6 by W. W. Norton and Company.

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the best means of exploring what the Greek says—though a dangerous means whenever the translator thinks he has said it. What is needed here is a Socratic inquiry into the words "translate" and "say." What does a sentence say—the thing the speaker had in mind or the thing the typical hearer gets? Such an inquiry would show how hard it is for any translator to know what he is doing, and how he must limit this "meaning" he deals with. The meaning, the whole meaning, and nothing but the meaning—that is unattainable, though scholarship rightly makes it an ideal. But when we pass from understanding the Greek as best we can to uttering something partially parallel in English for general readers, the situation is different, and another ideal becomes more relevant.

Any version whatever which is conceived in a different language in a different age must depart from the exact meaning. The readings of Plato's friends in his own lifetime departed from it, do what they would, though there was no such refracting linguistic veil between them and his words. Ours must depart far more, at more points and in more dimensions. We can understand this and some of the probable departures more or less clearly. By such understanding we may correct our view. This modern scholarship attempts—the fatal thing in this approach is to forget the gulfs.

But there is another means of interpreting our traditional sources, a much more traditional method. And here interpreting means spreading out, as in irrigation. It is done by wilfully overlooking the gulfs. In all ages Platonists have done this, more or less consciously. They have found in Plato the perfect mirror of their selves and made him say for them what they saw. It is this which formerly made him, with the Bible, the field-determinant of the Western mind. Modern historical philology, like other simplifications which came to power in the eighteenth century, has been extremely subversive in professing to get at "the facts." It has buried our Plato in the dead leaves of a wood which has vanished into trees.

To recover him—our traditional mirroring sun, not the animated waxwork of a realistic history—we have to recognize what we are doing and take from him, as the philologist likewise does, what suits our purpose. But our purpose, which was Plato's, is saving society and our souls. This, as "The Republic" better than any other book can teach us, is the most inclusive of all purposes. This can ignore no mode of knowledge—certainly not philology. Neither can this let any more special mode of knowledge impose its more limited scope. What the greatest schoolbook of all time can teach us, if we make it, is what sort of knowledge it is which is all-mastering, which is its own purpose and action or power as it is its own being.

All talk of this sort sounds hollow; but this is the preeminently practical sort of knowledge which is only arrived at through the extremist developments and reconciliations of theory. Jefferson, remembering his Plato, declared that "a democracy can be preserved only by frequent returns to fundamentals." These fundamentals are here in "The Republic," which laid them down. Here are both the conditions upon which alone a democracy is possible and the most damaging description ever written of the danger to which all democracies are exposed. That this description amounts to a political biography of Hitler (see Book VIII) is no accident. These things are perpetual, being the price we pay for our failure to become in actuality more nearly what we are in essence.

A version of "The Republic" for the general reader interested in these things may be more faithful to Plato by restricting its rendering of other things which Plato is caring for. When the lingo which a strict conformity with the Greek forces upon a translator has become so familiar that its strangeness is no longer noticed, when the formulas and constructions translators must use have become by habit a code we decode at sight, when we expect most sentences to read like "Tell me, in heaven's name, do you not think that such a person would make a strange instructor?" or "I for one most certainly anticipate that a consideration of this question will help us"—when these elaborately articulated garments of simple enough thoughts have come to feel like our skin, then perhaps we will be ready to perceive through English the niceties of Plato's *tones*. But I doubt it. I believe the scholar responds to the Greek behind these sentences and that the Greekless get little or nothing of this interplay. English—except through rare and happy accidents—cannot help travestying Greek when it tries to reproduce such things by literal means. Thought, on the other hand, as opposed to tone, can be reproduced to the limits of understanding. Feeling too is relatively manageable—how Socrates or Adeimantus feels about a large matter. But not *tone:* the intricacies of their attitudes to what has just been said and to its speaker we can guess from content and context, but English refuses to let us be explicit about them without using palpably un-English forms, which for the Greekless defeat the purpose.

What can be done? The resource with which this version experiments is to concentrate on the thought, leaving tone, feeling, and intention to show themselves as implications of the thought. This is the mode of the English of the Bible, of Bacon and Bunyan, and of modern general colloquial, as against that of the later Henry James.

The result of shrinking "Shall you have any answer to make to that objection, my clever friend? It is not very easy to find one at a moment's notice; but I shall apply to you, and I do so now, to state what the arguments on our side are, and to expound them for us" (Davies and Vaughan) into "What's your answer to that? I haven't one right now. What *are* we able to answer?" and so on throughout, is to shorten our version by about one-third. As this experiment in simplification develops, the bones, as it were, of the book show up so much more clearly that Plato's careful prefaces, progress reports, and summaries become no longer necessary. They become, in fact, barriers to any reader in a hurry who fails to distinguish the prefaces from the statements. It is possible to streamline the argument still further by cutting out all but its active movements; and when we are once launched on that operation the ideal naturally comes up of a "Republic" which would keep whatever has made history but nothing else; and of putting that into an English *as clear to everyone* as possible.

Such a version can be no synopsis or digest. It must keep the dramatic movement, the give and take of the dialectic, the Platonic unction, Socrates's disclaimers of knowledge, the hints of his fate, all his ironies and surprises; for these are

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what have made and still will make history. However simplified, this must be a "Republic," and without these it would be nothing of the sort. In practice it proves possible to retain the entire argument, all its essential explanations and defenses and every detail that has hitherto generated philosophic discussion, and still to reduce its volume to something under one-half.

Why read Plato at all if you are in such a hurry? Well we are in a hurry anyhow, more is the pity. Perhaps arranging Plato so that he can still be read may help us to become less hurried hereafter. I can, however, imagine the comments of certain sorts of scholars. This is tampering with Holy Writ with a vengeance, and the vengeance is not unlikely to fall. This is doing a thousand things which in terms of scholarly and pedagogical orthodoxy in these days deserve the bonfire. Both the general plan and the detail will come in for castigation, certainly enough. But if Plato's thought flows again in new readers through this version, my publisher and I will think our boldness justified enough. And if we will think less of that ideal "exact meaning" to which the scholar aspires and more of the "actual understandings" to which living readers attain, I think I can readily enough clear my version from charges of impiety. It is not only easier for a new reader to see what Plato was saying through this pruned-down version. It is even easier for a student who has worked faithfully through a complete translation with notes. With minor points absent, the great limbs of the argument show in all their majesty.

Whoever attempts such abridgment must feel pang after pang of regret for what he leaves out for the sake of the clearer movement of the whole. But our aim—as Plato would say—is not to make our rendering of this or that section or interest especially happy but to make the whole thing as good an exposition as possible of the art of ruling and being ruled.

In my choice of the language used—which has been severely controlled in the interests of the widest intelligibility—I have made much use of Basic English. Indeed, this task of limiting my vocabulary to terms which would give Plato the maximum currency would have been impossible without Mr. Ogden's great invention. I have been dependent upon his discoveries—as everyone who attempts anything of this nature must be. If I had been writing for a public to whom English might be a foreign or recently acquired language I would simply have used Basic English. But as it is, I have written in an ampler medium. After profiting from the study which making a complete version in Basic English enforced, I used that as my foundation text, looking for opportunities to simplify Plato in inessentials and at the same time to compress Basic wherever there would be no loss of clarity for an English-speaker.

Of former attempts to do something of the same sort, William Whewell's, made in 1859, seems to have been the most successful. I shall be happy if it can be said of mine—as a reviewer in the *Athenaeum* said of his—"So readable is the book that no young lady need be deterred from undertaking it; and we are much mistaken, if there be not fair readers who will think, as Lady Jane Grey did, that hunting and other female sport is but a shadow compared with the pleasure there is to be found in Plato."

The World Sea War

THE WAR AT SEA. By Gilbert Cant. The John Day Company. $3.

IT IS difficult to write a book on the present war since censorship keeps much needed information out of reach, and disconnected news announcements, some of which later prove inaccurate, further hinder the task of pinning together existing facts into an understandable pattern. The historian of war, therefore, has to choose between timeliness and accuracy.

In view of these limitations Gilbert Cant of the New York *Post* has done a masterly piece of work in "The War at Sea." The book is in the nature of an interim report, as is frankly admitted in the preface, but it is an unusually good one, the author having been aided by diplomatic and naval contacts not available to the average military expert. Because of the unusual advantages he has enjoyed Mr. Cant is able not only to add to general knowledge but to fit many apparently isolated items into a central pattern. This reviewer would be willing to hazard a prediction that remarkably few of the accounts will require later alteration as a result of the admission of new evidence.

The time covered runs from September, 1939, to mid-December, 1941, closing with the destruction of the Repulse and the Prince of Wales, the consequences of which are correctly foreseen. The 300-odd pages in between have been divided into seventeen chapters whose rather racy headings—such as It's the Deutschland, David and Goliath, Cunningham's Pond—give an accurate clue to the contents. Though Mr. Cant is not a well-known student of naval affairs he shows an advanced understanding of technical matters combined with a facility for entertaining explanation. For example, his account of the magnetic-mine campaign and its defeat through dissection of several mines and the use of electric degaussing cables makes fascinating reading. Military reputations do not awe him, and he quite accurately points out the blunders that have been responsible for a major share of the naval losses in the present war. One wonders, as he does, why the British used Scapa Flow while it was unprotected and at the lack of alertness that sent British officers back to their bunks with no alarm sounded after the Royal Oak had already received one torpedo. On the other hand, he is ready to give credit where it is due.

The amazing thing about the book is its completeness and remarkably sound scholarship. Though the style is popular, accuracy is nowhere sacrificed for effect, and a number of statistical tables at the back supply detailed information to those not satisfied with a running account of battles.

Not that the book is without errors. A few technical mistakes have crept in, as when he credits the Haruna and its three sister ships with an original thirty-knot speed instead of the twenty-seven and one-half given by "Jane's Fighting Ships" and other standard naval publications. In the battle of the River Plate he fails to mention the destruction of the Graf Spee's spotting plane before it could be launched, a misfortune which contributed to the raider's lack of firing accuracy. A more serious fault derives from the very intensity of the accounts and the author's attitude toward the events he describes. Mr. Cant is frankly and uncritically sure that

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the outcome of the war at sea will determine the victor in World War II. His battles, therefore, stand as thrilling but isolated episodes, not tied up with any general strategy which might determine success or failure. Naval war appears not as a means for achieving victory but as an end in itself.

But the weaknesses of "The War at Sea" are very minor. The book deserves to rank with the half-dozen best volumes on the military and naval phases of the present war. It should establish its author's reputation as not only an entertaining but an authoritative writer of military books.

DONALD W. MITCHELL

Mexican Classic

THE ITCHING PARROT (El Periquillo sarniento). By José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (The Mexican Thinker). Translated from the Spanish and with an Introduction by Katherine Anne Porter. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

KATHERINE ANNE PORTER'S introduction to "The Itching Parrot" gives an account of the book which must make us conclude that no work of modern times has had, within its own culture, so wide and so intense an existence. It appeared in its present form in 1830, three years after its author's death; up to 1885 there were eight editions, and since then the editions have been countless. In Spain, before the civil war, it was reprinted "endlessly at the rate of more than a million copies a year"; a statement on the jacket of our translation speaks of 100,000,000 copies sold. In Mexico, where it was exposed for sale at every bookstall, it "was given to the young to read as an aid to manners and morals, and for a great while it must have been the one source of a liberal education for the great mass of people, the only ethical and moral instruction they could have. . . ."

We have in English no book of equal appeal; beside such popularity, our best-loved classics—"Robinson Crusoe," "Tom Jones," "Pickwick Papers," "Huckleberry Finn"—are almost esoteric. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was once universally read in our North, but it had a narrower reference and a shorter day; up to a few years ago "Ben Hur" was still selling enormously, but it was probably never very important in its readers' lives; even "Pilgrim's Progress," which was once to be found in every simple English home, never attained an influence like this.

And so we approach "The Itching Parrot" with a respect amounting nearly to awe. A book with such a history is almost more than a work of literature. It must contain, we feel, the "secret" of a people. But if it does, the reader of the work in translation can only leave it with the secret undisclosed, even deepened. Its charm will remain a mystery; to him it will seem an extraordinarily dull book. Because its genre, the picaresque, is not at present in general esteem, I ought perhaps to say that I have a special affection for the type, from Lazarillo of Tormes, the primitive ancestor, to Pickwick. But I found "The Itching Parrot" a bore, and I can only hope that, to balance the account of international misunderstanding, Spanish readers are puzzled by what it is we enjoy in "Moll Flanders" and "Tom Jones."

"The Itching Parrot" is all the more disappointing because the story of its author, as told in Miss Porter's admirable introduction, is so very interesting. Lizardi—he wrote under the engaging name of the Mexican Thinker—combined in his character elements of Defoe, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Figaro. It would be impossible to claim for him any great original powers of intellect, but in Mexico at the beginning of the nineteenth century—he was born in 1771, and his literary career seems to have begun in 1811—he was the agent of the Enlightenment. He had a winning touch of the poltroon about him; he confessed to great physical cowardice, and when he was in danger he could not always be relied on to keep his head or hold his tongue. But if he could now and then be bent, he could not be broken. He fought endlessly against political and ecclesiastical oppression; the anonymous and voiceless masses loved him, and church and state hated him. He was always being silenced and always managing to speak out; he was forbidden to publish and he published; he was excommunicated and still he published. To the naivete which marks so much of eighteenth-century liberalism, Lizardi seems to have added a certain provincialism, perhaps not to be avoided by a Mexican intellectual isolated amid the ignorance and obscurantism of the time, but his limitations no doubt made him only the more useful in his time and place. For a short period he was petted by a quasi-liberal government, but through most of his life he lived in dire poverty, and he died in penury.

But the hero of Lizardi's novel is a lesser man than his author. With Lizardi's heroism there is, indeed, mingled, as Miss Porter points out, an element of commonness; it is a peculiarly eighteenth-century mixture and it is rather endearing: the cliché forces itself upon us that Lizardi was Don Quixote and Sancho Panza in one. But the Parrot, the hero of his novel, is all Panza, all belly, all poltroon, yet without the great saving grace of the intellect of the belly. There is no philosophy in the rogue; he is not witty himself nor the cause of wit in others. He cannot justify the life of the belly, as of course we want him to; he cannot defend the pure pleasure of scratching in the sun. The great belly-men—Sancho himself, Falstaff, Diderot's fine creation, Rameau's Nephew—make us laugh at pomp and respectability. But it is worth noting that the Parrot never gets involved with pomp or with true respectability. Of the paraphernalia of the picaresque tale Lizardi gives us only the literal and the petty matters, the filthy jail but not the ceremonious courtroom, the gambling hell but not the elegant drawing-room, the grasping parish priest but not the portly bishop, the village quack but not the successful physician; he has no sensitivity to affectation, from which, according to Fielding, all humor comes.

Then, too, a good picaresque story ought to have a social and moral ambivalence: we ought to condemn the rogue but we ought to be tempted into an alliance with him, and the great rogues—Jonathan Wild, Captain Macheath, Moll Flanders—make us revise our notions of morality. But Lizardi seems to want to involve us in a simple rather than an ambivalent judgment; the prime moral error of the Parrot, in which his parents abetted him, was that he did not bind himself to a middling way of life and learn an

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honest trade. Well, all picaresque heroes are likely to lament their departure from virtuous industry, but the Parrot seems to mean it. Lizardi, like so many European moralists of the eighteenth century, found the norm of conduct in the tradesman and the merchant; perhaps the sociological point of the picaresque novel is that the life it represents in its ambivalent way is simply the degeneration of the aristocratic ideal, for the picaresque hero wants to live and enjoy himself without work or duties. And no doubt in the history of the Spanish peoples the illusions and compulsions of aristocracy—both Lizardi and his hero sprang from the impoverished gentry—created a crucial social and moral difficulty. But as Miss Porter herself points out, faith in the middling people is not enough; certainly it is not enough for a novel. It makes a dull hero, and Miss Porter, feeling the Parrot's inadequacy, tells us that the "real heroes" are his comrades, Juan Largo, who gets hanged, and the Eaglet, who is killed leading a bandit raid; but it seems to me that these characters are quite as much without moral and intellectual salt as the Parrot himself.

It is disquieting to be unable to respond to a book that has meant so much to so many people—so much, too, to such judges as Ford Madox Ford and Miss Porter. Perhaps I feel as I do because I have not read the same book they read. Miss Porter's translation is a model of firm, simple prose in the manner of the eighteenth-century masters of realism; but she tells us that the allusive and obscene language of the original will not submit to translation. Perhaps in the verbal play of that incommunicable Spanish lies the power of mind which I feel so sadly absent from the translated book. Or perhaps that power of mind lies in the many moral and political tracts which have been cut out of this version. These, to a foreign public, would of course be dull, if comprehensible at all; yet I cannot help wondering whether their inclusion isn't just what endears the book to its native readers, who, it seems to me, might well be charmed by the exposition of serious matters in the setting of a picaresque novel's low actuality. LIONEL TRILLING

How Strong Is Japan?

THE JAPANESE ENEMY. By Hugh Byas. Alfred A. Knopf. $1.25.

THE SETTING SUN OF JAPAN. By Carl Randau and Leane Zugsmith. Random House. $3.

THE VALOR OF IGNORANCE. By Homer Lea. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

JAPAN'S INDUSTRIAL STRENGTH. By Kate L. Mitchell. Alfred A. Knopf. $1.50.

IN GENERAL it pays to look with suspicion on books which are rushed into print to meet the public's demand for information within a few weeks after some cataclysmic event such as our entry into the war. But that warning does not apply to any of the four books on Japan listed above. It happens that with one exception they are careful studies which would have been published regardless of the war. The one exception is the book by Hugh Byas, long the Tokyo correspondent of the New York *Times*. His book is brief and presumably was thrown together hastily. But as might be expected from an able correspondent like Mr. Byas, it is as admirable a survey of present-day Japan as can be found anywhere.

In "The Setting Sun of Japan" Carl Randau and his wife tell the story of their visit to Japan and the countries that were soon to pass under Japanese rule. The book has a refreshing down-to-earth tang lacking in most of today's books on the Far East. The authors do not profess any great knowledge about politics or military strategy; they are content to talk with the people they meet, business men, doctors, waitresses, and factory workers. Their conclusions may be somewhat superficial but are always interesting. Although Japan had been at war for four years at the time of their visit, they do not give the impression that the civilian population has suffered acutely. True, food is rather strictly rationed, clothes made out of substitutes are of poor quality, and life is a little bleak; but except for certain shortages, it does not appear that the material standard of living has greatly deteriorated. The impact of the war seems to have been felt more keenly in the non-material aspects of life—recreation, culture, and intellectual life. The movies, once the chief recreation of millions, have become little more than an adjunct of the propaganda office. Much the same can be said of the legitimate stage. The authors report that Tokyo had only one box-office success, and that of the four numbers on its bill, three were propaganda sketches and the fourth an ancient formalized dance. The dance was good. The intellectual ferment that once characterized certain circles of Japanese life has disappeared altogether. Thousands of intellectuals are in prison; those who are outside are under constant surveillance.

The chapters dealing with Indo-China, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies provide interesting background for the Japanese conquest. Unfortunately, the authors' sources are somewhat infected with the complacency with which the ruling groups in each country faced the imminent threat of Japanese attack. The British were sure that the jungles of Malaya were impenetrable; the Dutch were sure that with aid they could hold out indefinitely; no one was interested in mobilizing the natives for total war.

Japan's strategy in attacking the Philippines and the presumed tactics to be used in subjugating the Pacific coast states are set forth in terrifying detail in "The Valor of Ignorance," which was first published thirty-three years ago. "General" Homer Lea, author of the book, is reputed to be a military genius, and his reputation is attested to by introductory letters by two high-ranking American officers. This reviewer is not in a position to challenge their military judgment, but the average reader will find Hector Bywater's twenty-year-old forecast of the American-Japanese war far more stimulating and interesting. Lea's reputation might have been better served if the earlier edition of his book had been allowed to continue to gather dust on the shelves of the few libraries where it could be found.

Kate Mitchell's brief volume is perhaps the most up-to-date and complete appraisal of Japan's economic strength available. It is admirably objective in tone, neither stressing Japan's weaknesses unduly nor falling into the opposite error of overemphasizing the undoubted gains of the past

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few years. Japan has made great strides, particularly in armaments and heavy industry, but it has achieved this advance at the expense of its great export and consumer-goods industries. And despite its conquests in China, its dependence on foreign countries for essential raw materials has increased rather than decreased. The book is recommended to those needing an antidote to the newspaper accounts of unending Japanese military successes. MAXWELL S. STEWART

Bruckner's Life and Music

ANTON BRUCKNER: RUSTIC GENIUS. By Werner Wolff. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.75.

BRUCKNER criticism had already produced one classic remark when, apropros the Second Symphony, a learned doctor said that even Bruckner's sudden silences were full of formal significance. Dr. Wolff, in this old-fashioned, dully written biography, adds another. Of the Scherzo of the Sixth Symphony he writes that though "it may be less effective than others it discloses the ideal nature of music. *The lack of material gives the movement weightless character*" (author's italics). In other words, Bruckner is unencumbered only when he has nothing to say. However, this poor recipe for achieving the swift flight of the scherzo of Beethoven's Fourth does contain a germ of critical truth. Developed, it makes clear that the sluggishness of Bruckner's work derives partly from the unsymphonic nature of his themes.

An anecdote on page 129 discloses another source of weakness. During a rehearsal of the Te Deum, the conductor, Ochs, had obtained from the choir the *ppp* demanded in the score. "Bruckner seemed to be highly delighted with the rendition but asked to have the passage played just a little louder. Astonished, Ochs complied. 'Still a little louder,' Bruckner kept saying. He was not satisfied until the passage was played fortissimo." He could not "realize"; for him a theme had no essential nature, its appearance in a work had no definite significance. There was nothing ascetic in Bruckner's catholicism, Dr. Wolff writes, but of the E minor Mass, which Mr. Haggin says is an impressive work, he remarks, "Even Bruckner's flowing creative imagination appears subdued in this work, for the sake of an almost ascetic style." This is interesting, for it suggests that only liturgical necessity could give Bruckner's thought precise shape. Since the ideal of integral, symphonic form was missing from his mind, there was nothing, in the absence of any control *exterior* to music, to condense his musical imagination.

Bruckner's life appears to have been as uninteresting as his music. Dr. Wolff, evidently, is somewhat disappointed that there should have been no sharp crisis in it except a nervous breakdown that seems to have been the consequence of Bruckner's exhausting struggle with his shapeless material. Schoolmaster, organist, and an earnest man, Bruckner pined for worldly recognition, and was once swindled by a crook who promised that money would obtain him a doctor's degree from Cincinnati University. Neither in his music nor in any other part of his mental life was there any development comparable to that to be observed in the case of Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert. Perhaps his rusticity checked him. Had he been surrounded in youth by the critical

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and technically competent circles of an earlier Vienna, he might have become a *petit maître*. But his was an age of Wagnerian largeness. He had not the genuine skill of Brahms or the sincere emotion of Tschaikowsky, his contemporaries. He remained a village organist searching for lost chords, a parish sacristan casting himself in the role of St. John, and never quite sure whether he was stumbling upon the Mount of Heaven or faltering at the foot of the Venusberg.

RALPH BATES

Canada in Perspective

THE UNKNOWN COUNTRY: CANADA AND HER PEOPLE. By Bruce Hutchison. Coward-McCann. $3.50.

CANADA is an economic and political impossibility that somehow happened when nobody was looking. It is a hinterland to which the Tories fled after the American Revolution, peopled first by France, then by Britain, and then by Central Europe. Scattered along the southern edge of a vast wilderness are 11,000,000 people who are divided by geography, language, race, religion, and economic interests. They follow no star, they are bedeviled by clashing loyalties; yet they have managed to weld their country into a great power both industrially and politically. The story of Canada's growth makes fascinating reading, and few Canadians are better qualified to tell it than Bruce Hutchison.

This is an important book because it tries to get the Canadian problem into perspective for American readers, but I doubt that the American public, which has grown accustomed to the fact-filled volumes of the Gunthers, will take to it. Bruce Hutchison is one of Canada's top political journalists, but he is a tale-spinner at heart. When he lets himself go, his lyrical prose becomes a bit florid. This is a polite warning not to be discouraged by the opening chapters, for there is plenty of sound stuff ahead. His analysis of the Canadian people, their politicians, their troubles, and their triumphs, is among the best that have appeared.

Nature, when she designed North America, obviously intended that traffic should flow from north to south. The coal and steel of the Maritime Provinces should go to New England; the power, woodpulp, paper, copper, and nickel of Quebec and Ontario to New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Michigan; the products of the western prairies should help to feed the American cities. But because politicians and selfish industrialists on both sides of the line conspired against nature and their people and raised mountainous tariffs, the traffic has been diverted to flow east and west. The result for Canada has been to concentrate its wealth and industrial production in Ontario and Quebec, and its poverty in the Maritimes and the West. As a result, the people of the Maritimes, the prairies, and British Columbia are outrageously overcharged for their manufactured goods. The Canadian standard of living is much lower than that of the United States. The crowning paradox is that while the Canadian tariff walls were built ostensibly to save Canada from absorption by the United States, American capital now controls most of Canada's industries.

It has taken a world war and the Hyde Park agreement to blast away the barriers and let goods flow more freely across the Forty-ninth Parallel. If a customs union between Canada and the United States can be achieved after the war, Hutchison believes that it will raise the standard of living of the people on both sides of the line to heights never reached before. But achieving that union is going to be almost as hard as winning the war. It will require politicians with the social vision and courage Canadian politicians have never shown. It will require an awakened public opinion in both countries. If books like "The Unknown Country" get a wide-enough public, we may be able to accomplish it. For myself, I have too much respect for the ingrained reaction of both the Canadian politicians and the majority of the Canadian people to expect anything but the worst.

JAMES H. GRAY

Our Servitude

ANTI-DICTATOR. The "Discours sur la servitude volontaire" of Etienne de la Boétie, rendered into English by Harry Kurz. Columbia University Press. $1.

THE flood of current books about the Nazis may have already convinced the smart reader that the best guide to an understanding of how it can happen everywhere and why you can't do business with tyrants is a slow best-seller by Plato called "The Republic." But other minor Baedekers, even if only a few centuries old, may also prove useful; such as, to name a neglected one, La Boétie's "Contr'Un" or "Discours sur la servitude voluntaire," now available in an excellent translation by Harry Kurz. La Boétie is usually remembered as the great friend—and, so to say, the only love—of the cautious Montaigne; but he was, in addition, on his own way to greatness when his premature death inflicted a major casualty on French culture of the Renaissance.

The point of "Contr'Un"—as Professor Borgese once defined it, and he should know—is that "all servitude is voluntary, and the slave is more despicable than the tyrant is hateful." It is, indeed, the first modern attempt to transfer the attention of the political thinker from the technique of the enslaver to the psychology of the enslaved. "Liberty is the only joy upon which men do not seem to insist," sighs La Boétie, "for surely, if they really wanted it, they would receive it. . . . Resolve to serve no more, and you are at once freed." Our short-wave broadcasters must be catching on, since they recently sent over the air to La Boétie's fellow-Frenchmen an entire script drawn literally from his essay. As counterpoint to every paragraph of his felicitous rendering, Harry Kurz has added streamlined subtitles of his own, to remind the reader that appeasement, the fifth column, and no-foreign-battles-for-our-boys are just new terms for immemorial political diseases.

PAOLO MILANO

Coming Soon

"The Nation's" Spring Book Number

Articles and reviews by Lionel Trilling, Joseph Wood Krutch, William L. Shirer, Pierre Cot, Morton Dauwen Zabel, and Bjarne Braatoy; poem by Stephen Spender.

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IN BRIEF

BOOK OF BAYS. By William Beebe. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

Mr. Beebe's most recent book is the by-product of an exploration de luxe conducted along the Pacific coast from northern Mexico to Colombia. The party made its home on board the well-appointed yacht Zaca, which the author used on a previous expedition, and everyone appears to have taken time off from strictly scientific work for whatever junkets appeared attractive. In consequence "Book of Bays" is almost as much a travel book as it is a book of natural history, and the general effect is that of a sort of super "nature walk" conducted over a large and fascinating area by a highly competent guide. Mr. Beebe pulls wonders out of his hat—a deep-sea matron trailing the atrophied bodies of her various parasitic husbands is an especially good one—and philosophizes upon them in his most amiable fashion. He also gives highly entertaining accounts of courtship among the fiddler crabs, of the struggle for existence in the genuinely tropical forests of Central America, and of many other exotic marvels. Probably no one else can do just this sort of thing so well.

MUSIC

MY COMMENTS on the operation of commercialized broadcasting have brought thanks and a surprising piece of information from a Pittsburgh reader. After telling me of the C. B. S. station in Elmira, New York, which he once heard cut off the New York Philharmonic broadcast in the middle of Stravinsky's "Firebird" to broadcast a baseball game, he adds: "However, the C. B. S. station here in Pittsburgh is even better; it doesn't broadcast the Philharmonic at all."

Then my discussion of Aaron Copland's "Our New Music" has brought a letter from a Philadelphia musician, who is glad to see me "left unconvinced and cold by the prose writing of a modern composer," and who offers an explanation of the futility of such writing.

It is, he contends, that the writing assumes what is contradicted by fact. Copland, for example, writes—and must write—as though the revolution which certain composers carried out at the turn

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of the century was successful; as though "the leaders of the revolution . . . having abandoned the classical and romantic idioms and methods of composing, created new idioms and methods whose importance was equal to the old"; as though "all that remains is to have that equality acknowledged by the public and by all the critics." He writes—and must write—on these assumptions in the face of the fact that "composers, in spite of forty years of labor, have been unable to produce significant works along the lines laid down by the revolutionaries, and that the public, in spite of forty years of toleration, patience, and docile submission to an unprecedented barrage of ballyhoo, have been unable to find pleasure or attachment in the works of either the revolutionaries or their followers (Debussy's output and a few other pieces excepted; but they are not numerous or important enough to affect the argument, and in any case they are not universally agreed upon)." Copland must write on these assumptions, he cannot question them, "because . . . the whole structure of his musical life is erected on the success of that revolution which, as a young man, he accepted," and to "question it now . . . would be to admit his career a failure." And the factual evidence against the assumptions must be deflected: "He cannot confess that it invalidates the assumptions and makes continued adherence to the revolution a poor farce. So far as the evidence troubles him, it does so only because it fails to carry the revolution to an indubitable triumph. In other words, he is a True Believer, like a Roman Catholic, or an American Communist. The doctrine is all, the evidence is nought."

My correspondent describes the Copland technique correctly; but he is mistaken when he calls it futile. When Copland has written about contemporary American music he has not tried to demonstrate its sufficient quality, but instead has made demands—for attention, respect, use, compensation—in which that quality was presumed; and while this hasn't fooled my correspondent or a few like him, it has browbeaten a large number of others into giving the music attention, respect, use, and compensation that its actual quality would not have secured it. The technique has been hugely successful—so successful that Virgil Thomson is now using it: let the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society embark on a five-year program of American music, he says; the composers, the conductors, the audiences—all are here and ready.

Victor's February orchestral releases still have not arrived; so I continue with the March Columbias. When Columbia issued its recording of the Budapest Quartet's performance of Beethoven's Op. 131 more than a year ago I was so relieved to hear an approximation of the normal sound of a string quartet, after the ear-lacerating distortions Columbia had issued previously, that I said the recorded sound was good. And for the same reason I said the same thing about Columbia's further Budapest Quartet recordings. But listening to the March set (489, $3.68) of Beethoven's Op. 135 I am struck by the fact that while the sound I hear could pass as the normal sound of a string quartet it is not what I know to be the unique sound of the Budapest Quartet. Instead of the dark, deep-plumbing sound of Schneider's cello, the rich, warm, beautifully blended sound of the entire group that can be heard in Victor's imported recording of Beethoven's Op. 74, the Columbia recordings—all of them—give us a sound of four separate strands that is voluminous but without depth, richness, warmth. In this one of Op. 135, in addition, the volume-level occasionally is not constant from side to side; and the recording is afflicted with rattles and break-ups not only on a large wide-range machine with a light, sensitive pickup but on a small one of limited range with heavy pickup.

Rodzinski's performance of Berlioz's Symphonie Fantastique with the Cleveland Orchestra (Set 488, $6.83) is more sharply contoured than Bruno Walter's with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra in Victor Set 662—which I would say makes it the better realization in sound of Berlioz's sharply contoured musical thought. The recorded sound of Rodzinski's performance also is appropriately brighter and sharper in definition than that of Walter's, which is however more sensuously beautiful and agreeable to the ear in the way that European orchestral recording is. On a Lafayette Overture with an Audax D-36 pickup and again on a Scott 23 with a Brush PL-25 the Rodzinski recording has occasional rattles and break-ups and the surfaces of my copy are gritty and otherwise noisy. But when I switch to the heavy Astatic Tru-tan pickup on the Scott the sound and the surfaces are quite clean.

B. H. HAGGIN

RECENTLY PUBLISHED

Prisoners of Hope: Report on a Mission. By Howard L. Brooks. Fischer. $2.75.

The House in the Rain Forest. By Charis Crockett. Houghton Mifflin. $3.

Below the Potomac: A Book About the New South. By Virginius Dabney. Appleton-Century. $3.

The Evolution of Balzac's "Comédie humaine." Studies edited by E. Preston Dargan and Bernard Weinberg. Chicago. $5.

Mr. Justice Brandeis: Great American. Press Opinion and Public Appraisal edited by Irving Dilliard. Modern View Press. St. Louis. $1.

How to Write a Play. By Lajos Egri. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

Government and Nationalism in Southeast Asia. By Rupert Emerson, Lennox A. Mills, and Virginia Thompson. Institute of Pacific Relations. $2.

Maryland Main and the Eastern Shore. By Hulbert Footner. Appleton-Century. $5.

The Oration in Shakespeare. By Milton Boone Kennedy. North Carolina. $3.

Superior Children Through Modern Nutrition. By I. Newton Kugelmass. Dutton. $3.50.

Henrietta Szold: Life and Letters. By Marvin Lowenthal. Viking. $3.

Old McDonald Had a Farm. By Angus McDonald. Houghton Mifflin. $2.75.

Northern Nurse. By Elliott Merrick. Scribner's. $2.75.

Retreat of the West: The White Man's Adventure in Eastern Asia. By No-Yong Park. Meador. $3.

Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands. By Lydia Parris. Music transcribed by Creighton Churchill and Robert MacGimsey. Creative Age Press. $3.50.

Mechanized Might: The Story of Mechanical Warfare. By Major Paul C. Raborg. Whittlesey House. $2.50.

Henri Rousseau. By Daniel Catton Rich. Museum of Modern Art. $2.

The French in the West Indies. By W. Adolphe Roberts. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.

The War Message. By Franklin D. Roosevelt. Rittenhouse. $1.

Musings of an Angler. By. O. Warren Smith. Barnes. $2.

Napoleon's Invasion of Russia, 1812. By Eugene Tarlé. Oxford. $3.50.

America in the New Pacific. By George E. Taylor. Macmillan. $1.75.

The Economic Novel in America. By Walter Fuller Taylor. North Carolina. $4.

The Huguenots: Fighters for God and Human Freedom. By Otto Zoff. Fischer. $3.50.

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Letters to the Editors

American Man-Power

Dear Sirs: Under the title of Man Power and the Draft there appeared in *The Nation* for February 28 an editorial holding that in the United States "an army of eight million men can be achieved only by a drastic cut in aid to our allies." I should like to offer several objections to this view.

The population of Germany at the outbreak of the war was approximately eighty million. German man-power was adequate to assemble an army of some six and a half million at the time of the campaign in France, and to make that army the best equipped in Europe. If Germany, with a population of eighty million, was able to do this, the United States with its hundred and thirty million ought to be able to train an army of six to eight million, to arm it, and at the same time to supply our allies with arms, particularly since a higher degree of mechanization has increased labor productivity here over that in Germany.

The editorial cites employment statistics to show that American man-power is not large enough to cover both purposes—an army of eight million and aid to our allies. It says, among other things, "Employment in agriculture and non-defense industries will probably drop to around forty million."

At present such employment amounts to forty-four million. Thus the editorial assumes a decline of four million, about 10 per cent. This estimate seems far too small to me. If the war is actually going to be fought as total war on America's side, the decline in consumption and in workers employed in consumer-goods industries will undoubtedly greatly exceed 10 per cent. This will release additional millions for the army or for armament production.

The editorial further states, "Judging by the experience of World War I, these two million workers can be provided by bringing women, retired persons, and youths into productive life."

In my judgment, the experiences of World War I do not apply to the present war. Germany, for example, registered all its women long before this war began, and put the unmarried ones to work in industry, virtually without exception. England has since followed suit. If this is to be total war, we shall have to do the same.

Since the decline in consumption is likely far to exceed 10 per cent—and each additional per cent of decline releases man-power to the extent of 400,000—and since the influx of women, retired persons, and youths will not necessarily be limited to two million but may rise to at least four, complete mobilization of man-power would make possible not only the creation of an army of six to eight million but also full aid to the allies.

It is an altogether different question whether the army can, in the course of a single year, be raised from two to six or eight million. That of course is not merely a matter of man-power but one of organization, military training, and, ultimately, grand strategy.

FRITZ STERNBERG

New York, March 19

Let Palestine Mobilize!

Dear Sirs: The futility of British policy in Palestine was never more evident than today. Not one of the Arab states has thrown in its lot with the English; the local Arab "leaders" have moved to Rome and Berlin; the Arab populace is completely indifferent to Britain's need. These are the fruits of appeasement in the Near East. There is no point in speculating now on what a Jewish community of a million or more could have contributed in industrial and military support to the democratic cause.

Rather than recruit a Jewish army in Palestine, Britain brought to the Near East Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, Indians, while Malaya, Burma, the Dutch East Indies, and Australia had to meet the enemy with a pitifully inferior force. Britain preferred actually to *discourage* Jewish enlistment for the sake of a discredited political policy. A Jewish army of a hundred thousand would have made a considerable difference to Singapore, and to Australia.

The Near East will soon again be the scene of major hostilities, with all the signs pointing to a Nazi pincer move through the Caucasus or through Turkey and Egypt. The strength of Palestine may decide whether the Germans get through to Mosul and to union with Japan in India. Have we not today the duty to demand that the entire available military potential of the region be mobilized without delay? British imperial policy is a luxury for peace time; in a war which is being lost it is "business as usual" of the most obstructionist sort.

JOSHUA TRACHTENBERG

Easton, Pa., March 18

Labor Needs the Long View

Dear Sirs: The article Labor and the Long View by I. F. Stone, appearing in *The Nation* of March 7 contains suggestions that are realistic, timely, and important, and that should be heeded by both labor leaders and the rank and file.

Several statements culled from Mr. Stone's article are worth repeating and remembering: "Labor leadership, as much as industry or government, needs to shake loose from customary thinking"; "Labor's first task is production"; "It is by gearing itself to these tasks, not by fighting rear-guard actions for overtime, that the labor movement can find safety and fulfil its obligations to the country and to the future."

Labor's present urgent need is "long-view" leaders who, while protecting its present gains, will avoid bartering its future freedom for present pecuniary profit.

JACOB BRENNER

New York, March 16

District 50 and the Farmers

Dear Sirs: Commenting on the move of the Dairy Farmers' Union, with offices in Utica, to affiliate with District 50 of John L. Lewis's miners, Saul Mills of the New York C. I. O. in a statement published in a great many newspapers recently (and in part in your magazine) said: "The New York C. I. O. is not interested in the type of organization represented by the Dairy Farmers' Union . . . the D. F. U. is dominated today by the same forces and has the same type of program as the monopolistic-controlled Dairymen's League and others of the milk trust's big five." As a former member of the D. F. U., I can say that Mr. Mills is correct in his estimate of what the D. F. U. stands for today. It was for this reason that we found it necessary to reorganize and to form the Farmers' Union of the New York Milkshed, with headquarters at Ogdensburg.

Farmers have a very important part

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to play in the success of the defense program. None of us want to do anything to interfere with our ability to reach the food-production goals that are necessary for winning the war. That is one of the big reasons farmers do not want to be fooled into joining organizations retaining connections with appeasement groups such as America First.

Apparently John L. Lewis has not severed connections with the America Firsters and still holds to his pre-war isolationist views. With this in mind, one may well believe that his attempt to tie up with farmers in various sections of the country is a move to build political power for himself. If so, it bodes no good for farmers or labor. The irresponsibility of the D. F. U. Utica officials betrays their selfish purpose to affiliate not with the C. I. O. but with the treasury of the United Mine Workers.

RUTH E. HILL

Jamesville, N. Y., March 17

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Wrongfully Imprisoned

Dear Sirs: Three innocent men—Anthony Panchelly, Edward Woodworth, and Donald Brown—are serving fifteen-year prison sentences in New Jersey. They were framed by the Hague machine for refusing to act as strike-breakers in the seamen's strike of 1936.

Arrested after a fight with a scab-herder, the three men were kept incomunicado for seventy-two days. The police tried again and again to force them to sign a false statement to support the charge of conspiracy made against the strike-committee leaders. But the three seamen remained loyal to their union—and are paying the penalty.

Charged with a patently faked robbery, they were given the maximum sentence, fourteen to fifteen years. They have served five years of that sentence. Now a drive to obtain a pardon for them is being conducted by a committee set up by the Workers' Defense League, with the support of the Civil Liberties Union, the national convention of the C. I. O.—and Judge Robert Kinkead, who sentenced them. The Workers' Defense League is a national non-partisan organization of which Dr. Carl Raushenbush of New York University is chairman.

The New Jersey Court of Pardons has been petitioned to consider the case at its meeting next month. To support that petition you can help: send a letter or wire today to Governor Charles Edison, Trenton, New Jersey, urging him to act favorably on the pardon appeal of Panchelly, Woodworth, and Brown.

MORRIS MILGRAM, National Secretary, Workers' Defense League

New York, March 18

Court and Profiteer

Dear Sirs: The Nation's recent editorial Court and Profiteer, in the issue of February 28, was a disappointment to me. I had expected you to take the long-term view of the Bethlehem decision and its effect. Only by a superficial reading of the majority opinion can it be said the court has given a green light to profiteers.

If there is one member of the court who holds no brief for large corporations it is Justice Black, who wrote the majority opinion. Mr. Black chose to allow Bethlehem to keep its profit in order to establish a more important legal principle. And law is, after all, a statement of general public policy or principle, not merely resolutions affecting particular instances. Thus the court ruled that if the terms did not please the government, it should have—and automatically, could have—commandeered the shipyards. The establishment of this principle is worth the $3,800,000 bonus the court awarded to Bethlehem.

The court's decision includes another important statement: "If the Executive is in need of additional laws by which to protect the nation against war profiteering, the Constitution has given to Congress, not to this court, the power to make them." That the present Congress does not seem disposed to limit profits does not alter the fact that the power is theirs; nor does Mr. Roosevelt's reluctance to commandeer any plant alter the fact that the power is his.

This is merely the latest of a series of decisions through which Justice Black and his liberal colleagues are laying the groundwork for the future structure of our law.

HRANT AKMAKJIAN

Jersey City, N. J., March 13

CONTRIBUTORS

LYN IRVINE is the author of "Ten Letter Writers" and a former contributor to the *New Statesman and Nation.*

KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI, Indian lecturer and playwright, is the author of "My India, My America." He is now at work on a book to be entitled "Warning to the West."

ARTHUR LIEBERS writes travel articles for the New York *Times.*

G. A. BORGESE, professor of Italian literature at the University of Chicago, is the author of "Goliath: The March of Fascism."

I. A. RICHARDS, author of "Basic Rules of Reason," "Interpretation in Teaching," and other books, is now director of the Commission on English Language Studies at Harvard University.

LIONEL TRILLING, assistant professor of English at Columbia University, is giving a course of lectures on Shakespeare at the New School for Social Research.

RALPH BATES, author of "The Olive Field" and "The Fields of Paradise," has just published "The Undiscoverables and Other Stories," part of which appeared in *The Nation.*

PAOLO MILANO, an Italian writer and dramatic critic, is now teaching romance languages at Queens College in New York City.

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